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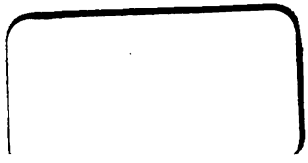

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

VOL. I.

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GOUGH SQUARE, LONDON.

IT is with the most gratified feelings the Editor is enabled to state, that

HIS MAJESTY

has graciously commanded the first copy of these Volumes to be placed in His Majesty's Library.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

INTRODUCTION.

Granville Sharp

born Nov.r 10th 1735, died July 6th 1813.

Engraved by J. Cousins from a Bust by Francis Chantrey R.A.
in the Council Room, Guildhall.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.

COMPOSED

From his own Manuscripts,

AND OTHER

AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS FAMILY

AND OF THE

AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

BY PRINCE HOARE.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"INTAMINATIS.....HONORIBUS."

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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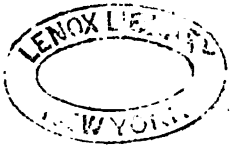

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TO THE

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THE ALDERMEN,

AND COMMON COUNCIL,

OF THE

City of London,

IN

REMEMBRANCE OF THE HIGH AND JUST TRIBUTE OF RESPECT

PAID TO THE SUBJECT OF THESE PAGES,

BY PLACING HIS BUST IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER

OF GUILDHALL,

THIS EDITION OF HIS MEMOIRS

IS

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PROSPECTUS

AND

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TO THE FIRST EDITION.

PROSPECTUS.

EVER since the decease of MR. GRANVILLE SHARP, *it has appeared to be the general wish of his surviving friends, that an honourable Memorial of his Life should be prepared for the Public. To transmit to posterity the remembrance of a character of so great worth, and of a life of such continued action in support of all that is most valuable to mankind, is a tribute, not only due to virtue and to religion, but beneficial also, it may be hoped, to humanity.*

But the difficulty of the task was not inferior to the duty of its performance. The length and variety of MR. SHARP'S *public exertions, the importance of his undertakings, and, above all, the voluminous mass of documents bequeathed by him, from which alone the springs of his actions could be shewn, and his real character delineated, presented a prospect of labour, equally gratifying and overwhelming.*

His dignified achievements were to be displayed in historical succession, and the reader was to be enabled to trace, in one distinct view, the connected progress and extensive course of his beneficence. His character was to be rendered uniformly perspicuous,—the meek Christian—the intrepid champion of freedom

— the unwearied vindicator of his country's laws, her constitution, and her church—the foe to error—the friend to man. United with these requisites, his labours in literature, in legal researches, in morals, and in scriptural criticism, together with a train of numerous acts of private philanthropy, were to make up the detail of his long and active life.

However arduous the attempt, it has nevertheless been made, and its result is now to be submitted to the Public. The writer of these Memoirs has framed them with scrupulous fidelity from the manuscript papers entrusted to his care; and the important assistance of the BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S *has been kindly afforded, in points where so high a sanction was peculiarly to be desired.*

To a memorial of this nature, it has been deemed not inappropriate, that there should be added a farther testimony of respect for him who is the subject of it, by rendering its publication a work of Public Subscription.

In forming such a proposal, the writer of the Memoirs is actuated by no personal motives. He cannot consent to derive pecuniary emolument from it, and has devoted the entire profits of the Edition (of whatever amount) to the use of The African Institution. *This mode of publication is adopted with the sole view, that the names of all who reverence the memory of* GRANVILLE SHARP, *or who feel an interest in human freedom, religious order, and deeds of charity and mercy, may accompany for ever the authentic memorial of his life, and thus render the record of his virtuous actions the record also of the honours which attend them.*

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PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

ABOUT the time that a Monument to Mr. Granville Sharp's memory was erected in Westminster Abbey by the African Institution, it was understood to be the intention of that body to publish an account of the services which he had rendered to the cause of African freedom. This intention being communicated to Mr. Sharp's family, they were desirous of enlarging the proposal so far as to include a memorial of his whole life; and the plan being determined, the task of performing it was assigned to an intimate friend, whose abilities and professional character rendered him eminently suited to the undertaking. The pressure of other occupations induced him after a time to relinquish it; and I received a request from the Executrix that I would take the charge on myself. Obligations of gratitude to the Family

precluded refusal on my part; and my high respect for the person whose life was to be the subject of the Memoirs, made me accede cheerfully to the proposal: but in giving my consent, I did not form an adequate idea of the task in which I was about to engage. The most voluminous and diffuse documents were consigned to my care, from which I had to extract whatever might be thought useful to the public, and (what was far more difficult) in which I was to discover and trace a connected thread of Mr. Sharp's progressive actions through his long and important life.

That such a task would be tedious, it was easy to anticipate. But it has been further protracted by causes which could not be foreseen,—by the suffering of repeated illness since the period when I first printed my Prospectus —of illness aggravated not unfrequently by an apprehension that, as the real cause of the delay could be known only to a few, I might suffer no slight imputation of neglect in the performance of what I had undertaken.

I have, however, persevered at every interval of amendment; and have reason to hope, that I have finally omitted nothing that materially affects the exemplary man whose history is to

be told. At the same time, conscious that contemporary biography loses something of its value by each year of delay, I have endeavoured occasionally to compress the *individual*, and enlarge the *general* interest of the Narrative, so as in some measure to compensate the time that has elapsed. I have also prefixed anecdotes of Mr. Sharp's immediate predecessors, which, from the eminent station of one of them, and the exemplary beneficence of all, may be thought to add value to my work.

As Mr. Granville Sharp's Memoirs are of a very complicated kind, it is necessary that I should say a few words of the method which I have pursued in the arrangement of them.

And first, that I might render a distinct account of the benefits which he conferred on his age, I have thought it expedient, in consideration of the *variety* of his actions, to attend rather to the chronology of each action separately, than to that of his whole life collectively. A man busied with one object or in one pursuit alone, may be followed chronologically, through the whole of his action, with advantage; but when the objects and avocations are numerous, as in the instance of Mr. Sharp, it would be merely to perplex the reader's

attention to adhere to that mode of proceeding, and to shift him at every instant, like Ariosto's readers, from one subject to another. I have therefore continued to trace each of his actions through its progress to its final term; and, of course, the beginning of every new subject is of an earlier date than the conclusion of the preceding one. With this ruling view I have united as much general regularity of dates, as the nature of such a method would allow.

But of a life so extensively varied, it is nearly impossible to collect all the particulars: many circumstances, which became immediate springs of action to a mind promptly excited to beneficence, were probably known solely to himself, or their detail has perished with those who are gone before us. Whatever documents, however, were left by him, regarding topics of interest, are here preserved, even although the knowledge of some of the facts to which they relate may still remain imperfect. At the same time, some particulars which I have retained may be thought too minute for general interest; but it is only by a detail of the many acts of goodness to which he directed his attention, that his character

can be fully shown: and perhaps some degree even of tediousness in the narrative was necessary, in order to establish it completely.

In reading the lives of men who have been renowned in distant times and countries, our principal object is to learn the actions which they performed: in those of our own countrymen, and in our own time, our curiosity is raised to learn the *manner*, rather than the *history*, of their proceedings. We are all of us more or less acquainted with what they have done, and our desire is to learn by what means they have done it. In the present instance, I have endeavoured to exhibit the character in this respect, by adverting principally to his own Notes and Letters. It has been less my endeavour to be the relater of his life, than to make him speak for himself; to show him in his own Memoranda,—which I have therefore kept as distinct as possible, sometimes at the risk of appearing abrupt.

Conceiving, as I do, that Mr. Sharp was one of those men whose name is likely to go down to late posterity, I have united with his private actions as much of the general history of the concerns in which he took part, as may render his Memoirs not wholly an unimportant

document to the future historian of those events.

His life may be divided under four principal heads:

1. The Liberation of African Slaves in England.
2. The Colonization of Sierra Leone.
3. The Establishment of Episcopacy in America.
4. The Abolition of the Slave Trade.

To these may be added, His attempt to reconcile the British Colonies with England, at the commencement of the American troubles. —Were there no other records, these will probably be thought sufficient to give importance to his Memoirs; yet they form a part only of the promiscuous range of action to which his benevolence gave birth.

"If a good man were a great one," said a friend to me, whose talents the public has justly appreciated, "you have an excellent subject for a Memoir." As this sentiment seemed to place goodness in the second degree of rank, I was surprised at hearing it from one who has proved himself capable of feeling and expressing many of the finer emotions of the heart. With due deference to talents of every

kind, I conceive the highest object of literary composition to be *moral utility;* and I consider the pretensions to fame of every writer, nay, the very name even of a poet himself, to be forfeited, when that great end of literature is abandoned or perverted. Dangerous examples may arise, which have a tendency to impress a contrary belief. They have arisen in the present day, to the regret of every friend to genius, in works which, but for their deficiency in this important point, are entitled to strong claims on our admiration. But, dangerous as such examples are to the real interests of literature, it is consoling to think that they cannot ultimately be fatal, because, as far as their influence on other writers extends, the consequences must appear, on reflection, prejudicial to that which every writer values in a very high degree,—the stability of his reputation.

A desire to promote the interests of virtue will be found to be not the measure of the honesty only of the literary man, but to include also that of his understanding and fame. A full sense of the loveliness and *pre-excellence* of virtue, is indispensable in the character of those who lay claim to the highest human capacity.

Virtue is the truth of moral relations. That which all agree to call by the name of virtue, is that which the consenting acknowledgment of all men in all ages has demonstrated to be most right, because most useful; and whatever deviation either our passions or our interests may seem to justify in our own sight, he who mistakes deviation for rectitude will fairly be suspected of unsound faculties.

The writer, or poet, therefore, who deserts his moral obligations to his fellow-creatures, by failing to impress images of excellence on the mind, does not write for immortality. The course of time affords examples of the stable permanence of fame in those writers only, in whose works a sense of religion and virtue holds a conspicuous station. Homer, Pindar, Plato, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and as many more as are eminent on record, are instances of this truth. The first of those here named, ranking the highest in fame, has, it is true, been sometimes considered chiefly as the dramatist, the natural representer of human passions; and his eminence attributed to this cause. But, besides the exalted tenour of innumerable virtuous sentiments dispersed through the Iliad, that work is distinguished

above most others by its frequent reference of all that is passing, in its greatest events, to the deities who preside over human actions. I do not speak of the good sense, or the absurdity, of those supposed deities: they were the religion of Homer's time; and the submission of all human actions to their influence (absurdly called *machinery*), is one great source of the dignity of Homer's work.

The case is, in this respect, the same with those far sublimer Writings, which we Christians venerate. Exclusively of the reference of the Old Testament to the later events of Christianity, the history in itself impresses us with awe, inasmuch as it is the history of a guiding Providence over the progress of a favoured nation. It is, in fact, a history of the dispensations of Providence; and it is this never-ceasing reference to a superintending Divinity, kept constantly in view, which gives it a dignity and an authority surpassing all other histories in the world.

Indeed, considering the immensely powerful effect produced on the reader, or hearer, by this circumstance, it appears surprising, that the *mode* (if I may use that term) of the sacred narration has been so rarely imitated. Among

the ancients, as I before observed, Homer, as an epic poet, has made the greatest similar attempt. Our own Milton has followed the same path; to which he was led by the nature of his subject. Among modern historians, I find one instance only of daring to look up to so high an example, in the admirable Moral Survey of English History by Mr. Sharon Turner,—a work secure of increasing estimation.

With similar observation,—with unerring reference to the Author and Guide of all,—the Subject of these Memoirs traced, in thought, in discourse, and in writing, the events of every day.

Having mentioned the criticism of one friend on my undertaking, I may be allowed to state the high approbation of another, who commended it, "because" (to use also his own words) "it is desirable to raise to public distinction those whose private character has contributed to influence the happiness of mankind." I feel a pleasure in stating, that this gratifying encouragement came from the lips of Mr. Wilberforce.

If I shall not be found to have effected this desirable point, I have at least shown my own desire to that purpose, and shall, I trust, have

contributed to the gratification of many of my readers by so doing: for, although the Memoirs of Granville Sharp do not furnish the history of a *hero*, in the ordinary acceptation of that name, I am persuaded, by my own feelings, that there are few who will not find him to have been one, and who would not exult in possessing, among the members of their family, such a relative as Granville appears in his public and private virtues.

Of the anxiety with which these Memoirs have been collected, it does not become me to speak. I am conscious that circumstances of that nature are of no concern to the Public, except so far as, in the present case, they have contributed, I trust, to an unimpeachable veracity in the recital of Mr. Sharp's history. My apprehensions and my diligence have never ceased to increase with the increasing view of the responsibility which I had drawn on myself, and the nature of the character which I was to display. *One* part of my task was foreign to the general tenour of my studies; and *that* part has been supplied by the distinguished Prelate who, from a zealous regard for his departed friend, has condescended to become my co-adjutor in the present work.

Besides his valuable support, I have acknowledgments to make to many other of Mr. Sharp's friends, for the ready and obliging assistance which I have received from them: particularly to the Rev. Mr. Owen, for much useful information;—to Zachary Macaulay, Esq., for his great attention in supervising the historical narrative of the colony of Sierra Leone;—to Thomas Clarkson, Esq., for the most cordial interest in my inquiries on several occasions;—to Stephen Catley, Esq., Chairman of the Protestant Association; Thomas Harrison, Esq., Secretary to the African Institution; William Wilberforce, Esq.; the Rev. John Hutton; Granville H. Wheeler, Esq.; the Rev. John R. Williams; Thomas Allan, Esq.; Sir Watkin Lewes; William L. Newman, Esq., City Solicitor; Mr. Chamberlain Clarke; John Poynder, Esq.; Mr. Deputy Box; Robert H. Inglis, Esq.; William Tooke, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Hamilton,—for various communications.

I am likewise indebted to his Excellency Richard Rush, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America; Archibald Impey, Esq.; Charles Few, Esq.; and other friends, for

attentions by which they have had it in their power to advantage my work.

In the obituary tributes which were paid to Mr. Sharp's memory in several respectable publications, I observed, together with a general desire for a just biographical detail, the expression also of a wish, that, in the performance of such a task, the writer (whoever he might be) should draw a *veil* over some *peculiarities* of Mr. Sharp's character.

This sentiment entirely coincided with my own feelings at my commencement of the Memoirs; but in the further contemplation of the life and conduct of the Subject of them, I felt his character to be of that high and dignified nature, to leave no necessity for such a precaution, but sufficient to bear him safely above the little cavils which may be levelled at any excess of benevolent zeal. I own I see nothing to veil; and if I am wrong, it is an error of my deliberate judgment. He was himself without disguise, "walking always before God,"—the delight of his family, and the benefactor of his race.

If circumstances or opinions appear at times tinged with no slight degree of human

weakness, they are no just cause of alarm to his biographer. The sensibilities of the heart have no tendency to lower the standard of a virtuous character, more especially when those sensibilities are excited by the fervent impulses of religious faith.

I have, therefore, endeavoured boldly to delineate him, such as he stood in the face of man, and have merely *abridged*, of his own records, what I thought might be deemed tedious in the recital.

Of the memoirs of good men, it may be said, as of their tombs, that "as honours are paid to the dead in order to incite others to the imitation of their excellence, their principal intention is to perpetuate the examples of virtue, that the *history* of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and veneration for his memory produce the same effect as the observation of his life*."

It only remains to notice a circumstance which might otherwise appear to be an oversight. Besides the numerous letters selected

* Dr. Johnson's Essay on Epitaphs.

from Mr. Sharp's correspondence, and inserted in the course of the narrative, the reader will find a reference to some few others which do not appear with it. They were at first designed for insertion with the Appendix; but it having since been judged desirable, by Mr. Sharp's friends, that the whole of his Correspondence should be collected together, to form the materials of a future publication, they have been relinquished for that purpose.

The present Memoirs, being ready for publication, have been directed to be delivered to the Subscribers, without further delay.

May 1820.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE favour with which the Quarto Edition of these Memoirs has been received, both in respect of the gratifying approbation of many who were acquainted with the subject of them, and of the profitable result to the African Institution, has induced me to offer to the Public a new Edition in Octavo, in the hope of extending more widely the example of a good man, and of rendering it familiar to a more numerous class of readers; and also again to devote the profits (if any should accrue) to a Benevolent Establishment.

On reviewing my Work and the documents from which it was formed, although I find much of imperfection to regret, I do not discover that I have omitted any circumstance important to the character and fame of a man

so justly revered. In the present Edition, therefore, I have made few corrections, and, in general, with the exception of a copious Index, and a fac-simile of his hand-writing (demonstrative at once of his piety and of his earnest care to perfect the expression of it), have merely added some explanatory Notes, where I thought that a further elucidation might be required. What more remains to be known of him, must be sought in his Correspondence, whenever favourable circumstances shall bring it before the world.

There is, however, one point, to which I may be thought to have not sufficiently called the attention of the Reader. The horrid increase of rapacious cruelty, which the annual reports of the Slave Trade under the French and Spanish flags have brought to view, has induced many persons to contemplate the abolition of the trade by this and other friendly countries as a misfortune to humanity; from a comparison of the regulated mode in which it was carried on by our vessels, and those of the other states who partook of our abhorrence of its cruelties, with the heartless prosecution of it tolerated by the French and Spanish Governments, in defiance of all ties of national

relation, of the dignity of national character, of Divine Justice, and human sympathy.

In this view of the subject, it is certainly important to observe, that Mr. Sharp, although powerfully aiding the efforts of a large mass of benevolent men, who were anxious to wipe from their country's annals the stain of this debasing commerce, never yielded his assent to their undertaking as a *complete* measure for the success of the great cause which he advocated. In p. 234, vol. ii., will be seen his energetic protest of its inadequacy; and in p. 253 a memorandum, declaratory of his own enlarged conception of their duty and responsibility. In several of his letters also (printed in these volumes) he deprecates a belief that the measure adopted by the Society embraced the whole of the object he had at heart; and, in an additional note at the end of vol. ii. will be found a short communication from a professional friend, in which the real scope of Mr. Sharp's views is distinctly stated. Had his existence on earth been permitted to this hour, he would have hailed with rapture the Associations now forming for the gradual, but final, extirpation of Colonial Slavery.

Since the former publication of these Memoirs, several friends of Mr. Sharp are no more; but I do not fear that his memory should lose its interest, as the events which form his history form also an essential part of the history of Great Britain; interwoven as they are with the progress of her civilization, and as they likewise are with that of her American descendants, in one portion of their religious establishment.

The judicial decision, obtained by a private Citizen of London, in favour of African and universal freedom on the soil of England, must for ever remain the triumph of the Patriot and Philanthropist; and the increasing importance of the colony of Sierra Leone, rising, under the panoply of Britain, to be the guardian of African civilization, commerce, and future liberty, must endear the name of its Founder, and enhance his esteem, to distant regions and times.

But, most of all, whenever the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY shall be effected—that tribute due from polished Europe to Religion, Justice, Honour, and immortal Fame—the blessings of that hour shall bring with them the record of its earliest and unwearied Advocate; and

" the Statue and the Bust" shall rise to Granville Sharp amidst the honours of his country and the plaudits of mankind. The dignified tribute of respect recently paid to his memory by the City of London, is the dawn of his well-merited fame.

During a late momentary alarm of our African stations, a new and unexpected interest appeared likely to be given to these Memoirs. Could England have been unfortunately compelled, by a continuance of calamitous circumstances, to abandon her tenure on the coast, and could her *peaceful establishment* have been finally exterminated, its history would have been all that remained of unavailing efforts of humanity, and its remembrance the only trophy they had raised to the nation which gave them birth.

Such fears are now dispelled; and Sierra Leone continues to be the protectress of social industry. The latest reports of the colony show its increasing commercial connections with the *interior*, and influence on the *neighbouring* states; while, from a concurrence of important causes, it appears probable, that the destiny of Africa is about to be unfolded; and that the course of no distant

century will unite the moral interests of her continent with those of the more enlightened portions of the globe.

NOTE.

At a meeting of the Court of Common Council, at Guildhall, on the 22d of January 1824, Samuel Favell, Esq. moved that a Bust of the late Granville Sharp be placed in the Council Chamber.—"Deeply impressed," he said, "with the honours decreed by the Corporation to eminent heroes and statesmen, he felt it no less highly worthy of the Metropolis of the British Empire, at a period distinguished by the most powerful advances in the pursuit of social happiness, to honour the memory of an illustrious citizen, who had devoted his life to the cause of philanthropy." —The vote of thanks to Mr. Sharp was then read, which was passed in 1791, for his benevolent offer in aid of the funds of the London Workhouse; and, after some comments on that statement, Mr. Favell proceeded to read (from these Memoirs) Mr. Sharp's own narrative of the casual circumstance which first interested him in the cause of African Slaves, and which led, not only to the establishment of their freedom in England, but ultimately to the abolition of the Slave Trade. He next enumerated the honours paid to Mr. Sharp, both in his life-time and after his death, by the applause of all good men; together with his labours in every public cause

connected with benevolence; and having referred, in an animated manner, to some comparative instances of national feeling, concluded by expressing the particular object of his mind in regard to the motion he now proposed; which was, at once to honour the memory of Mr. Sharp, and to establish the principle that public honours are not exclusively claimed by the achievements of the sword or the eloquence of the senate, but were equally due to the social benefits conferred by the philanthropist.

The Motion was seconded by Charles William Hick, Esq., and the following Resolution was read and approved:—

"*Resolved*, That this Court, deeply impressed with the high character and philanthropy exhibited by the late Granville Sharp, Esquire—especially in his having most ardently persevered and finally obtained the judgment of Lord Mansfield, which established the great principle, that every man, of whatever colour or clime, is a free man as soon as he lands upon the British shore; for his active and successful efforts in procuring the abolition of the Slave Trade; and for the numerous virtues which adorned his life both as a man and a Christian—

"*Resolved and Ordered*, That a Marble Bust, dedicated to the Memory of the late Granville Sharp, be placed in this Court, under the direction of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

The execution of the work was consigned to Mr. Chantrey; and in July 1826 the Bust was placed in the Council Chamber, on a columnar pedestal (vacant by the removal of a bust of Lord Nelson to another part of the same room), in the presence of the Right Hon. William Venables, Lord Mayor; Aldermen Wood and Waithman, Representatives

of the City in Parliament; and other members of the Common Council.

On the bust is the following inscription:

GRANVILLE SHARP,
TO WHOM ENGLAND OWES THE GLORIOUS VERDICT
OF HER HIGHEST COURT OF LAW,
THAT THE SLAVE WHO SETS HIS FOOT ON
BRITISH GROUND
BECOMES AT THAT INSTANT
FREE.

Around the Pedestal is written,

BORN NOV. 10TH 1735. DIED JULY 6TH 1813.

The Engraving in the front of these volumes is from Mr. Chantrey's Bust.

1769 Bernard's case before
the Council. See Cooper's Letter
1771 Att. Gen's Report -
Mem. 1772. Petition of Va. &c -
Short notice. Decision in England
in the Somerset case -

CORRIGENDA—VOL. I.

At the following places reference should have been made to the Additional Notes to the volume:

At page 46, line 6	} to	Additional Notes on p. 385
60, — 8	}	
—, note	ditto	386
68, last line	ditto	ib.
102, line 5	ditto	387
138, — 5	ditto	ib.
—, note	ditto	388
209, line 10	ditto	ib.
345, line 6	ditto	389
373, — 5	ditto	390

At page 208, line 4 ..... *for* 1786, *read* 1768.

209, last note } *for* at the end of the Appendix, *read*
228, note } at p. 388.

The Life of Archbishop Sharp (mentioned p. 24) has since been published, by the Rev. Thomas Newcome, M. A., Rector of Shenley, Herts, and Vicar of Tottenham, Middlesex.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

"WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO UNTO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO UNTO THEM."

INTRODUCTORY

View of Mr. Sharp's general Course of Action.—Account of his Family.—His Character and Principles.

LOVE OF MANKIND is a virtue of Christian date; and if it be true, that the age which is itself the most fertile of noble qualities, is also the most capable of valuing them justly, never, in any period, were examples of this virtue likely to sink more deeply into the heart than at the present time. Since the æra of its first and brightest appearance, in the FOUNDER of our Holy Faith, no age has been so much distinguished by its influence as our own. The Sovereigns of insulted empires have warred but to protect, and conquered but to spare. *Our* country, in particular, has been largely blessed by Providence both with the will and the means to

demonstrate the effects of the divine principle. The English shield has been stretched forth over the weak and oppressed of distant lands, and the bounty of England has flowed, in relief of human sufferings, on thousands who derived, perhaps, their first knowledge of our nation from its public acts of compassion and beneficence.

Nor are the exemplary charities of individuals unknown or unremembered among us. We venerate the names of a Hanway and a Howard; we recal them to our hearts and lips, when the distress of the unfriended claims a tear, or when the conscious sense of our common frailties demands an alleviation of penance, however merited by transgression, and prompts us to recollect that *we also are men.*

But, together with the celestial precept of charity, and under the garb of humane sentiment, a misconceived spirit of public lenity has crept in upon our social state, and is discernible in the relaxation of public morals. The feelings of compassionate forbearance towards the weakness of an offender which, in their just degree, do honour to our bosoms, although too often hastily excluded from our individual concerns, are unguardedly conceded without reserve to objects of more general, but remote, agency. Abuses, which disgrace a system of moral and political order, are at distance indolently overlooked; and perfidies, which sap the base of mutual security, and corrode domestic happiness at the core, are, in description, palliated under forms of venial

aspect and softened names, which insidiously plead in excuse of the most abhorred and pernicious vices.

To present, therefore, the history of an artless and innocent man, incapable of guile or enmity, who devoted mature life to philanthropical pursuits, and every where went about doing good, is but to hold up to the virtuous part of the present generation a bright image of its own mind. To shew the example of an equally mild and discriminating philanthropist, an equally complacent and severe censor, unwearied in kindness yet inflexible in judgment, and, although unmoved to resentment, implacable to aggression and dangerous error, is a lesson still in store for our advantage. That example, and that lesson, the following narrative is designed to convey. Some apology is to be made for the undertaking.—

Whoever considers the integrity, sincerity, candour, zeal, constancy, devout piety, and learning, of the subject of these Memoirs—exemplified, as they were, by the exercise of his faculties and attainments in an unremitting series of acts of beneficence — will perceive, that some record of his virtuous course is due to mankind. Whoever reflects on the variety of his undertakings in concerns of the most arduous nature; on the extensiveness and depth of his researches in different languages and sciences, in Biblical Literature, in the religious and political rights of our Constitution, our Country, and our Nature—researches diligently pursued through

the greater portion of a life uninterrupted by sickness, and protracted to nearly fourscore years — will feel how inadequate the labour of any individual must be to a full examination and just display of all that was useful and instructive in his eminent example.

Happily, the willing concurrence of some of his most valued contemporaries, in the completion of a grateful tribute, lightens the task, and smooths the path of investigation; while his own manuscript notes, and other original documents bequeathed by himself, supply his biographer with the most copious and authentic materials, sufficient to inspire a hope, that the Memorial, contained in these pages, may gratify remembrance to its fullest extent, and tend alike to stimulate and guide the philanthropist of future ages.

A task of this nature, from its beneficial tendency, has become incumbent on Mr. Sharp's surviving friends. No character, in any age, has been presented to view, in which the principle of exemplary action was more wholly unmixed with such motives as too often alloy, in human bosoms, the pure and holy desire of doing good. Those to whom his heart was most open, never detected there the faintest emotion of vanity, or the most secret sigh for selfish distinction; and the reader will often be surprised to find, that transactions of such magnitude and importance were accomplished by one whose name had scarcely pervaded the general ear.

But the meekness of humility passes by in unnoticed beneficence, and its actions too frequently find in themselves their sole reward. Many circumstances, however, in the present instance, concurred to establish gradually a portion of unavoidable celebrity. It was nearly impossible for a series of virtuous actions to be of great continuance, without attracting the attention and respect of those who surrounded their sphere of motion. The undeviating track of extreme rectitude, which from early youth he silently prescribed to himself, drew, at first, no other notice than from its singularity; and it wore in the vulgar eye an appearance of visionary enthusiasm, rather than of the real simplicity of heart by which it was dictated. Time, the explorer of all truths, has ascertained, that his ability, and his activity in the cause of the good and the suffering, his rigid adherence to the precepts of conscience and faith, were not the wavering flashes of a heated fancy, or the sparkling of an illusive moment; but that a religious reverence of human rights superseded every feeling of private interest; that indefatigable toil in their support was with him a work of complacency; and that every important effort of his action proceeded from a rooted and steady principle in his mind, which had for its basis and its scope the eternal interests of his fellow-creatures.

His example may, in these respects, be usefully looked up to by the young, and even by the ambitious. It will afford a proof, confirmed by experience

through a long course of years, of the intrinsic force of virtuous conduct, proceeding on the sure foundations of diligence and knowledge. Humble as his situation was in early life, the doors of the mighty were opened to him, and he found access and attention among men of all parties in church and state. It was easily ascertained that his motives were of the purest kind: his presence, therefore, could not fail to be acceptable to the good; and it was soon perceived that his researches and his counsel could assist the wise.

At the time when this extraordinary man began his career of action, some important points in our admirable Constitution had been less discriminately examined, or less accurately defined, than they are in the present day. In particular, the cause of *reputed* Slaves in our free country, although it had furnished opportunities of speculative argument in several instances, yet remained wholly unestablished by any legal rule, to which future cases might be referred. The judgments which had been given in our courts, were fluctuating and various, resting on no general principle; nor had the application of any one of them ever extended beyond the existing case.

Reason allows us to look forward to a time (in the eye of hope not far distant), when the established freedom of Africans shall leave in comparative obscurity the efforts of individuals in their behalf. Yet the active virtue of those individuals remains

unaltered, and the details of proceedings which redeemed an ignominious debt of prejudice, and tended to rescue a continent of future heroes and philosophers from captivity and torture, must for ever awaken the sympathy and attract the admiration of mankind.

The great and upright Chief-Justice Holt, the dauntless vindicator of our laws in the reigns of William and Anne, had decided, that, as soon as a Negro comes into England, he becomes free; because "one may be a villeyn in England, but not a slave*."

In opposition to his high authority (and probably to obviate the effects which it had produced), in the year 1729 the opinions of the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General were procured by some interested persons, and published, "in order," as the preamble states, "to rectify a mistake, that Slaves become free by their being in England, or by their being baptized." The opinions of these two able lawyers were altogether adverse to the liberty of the Negro in England. They declare, that "a Slave, by coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, either with or without his master, *doth not* become free; and his master's property or right in him is not thereby determined or varied: nor doth baptism bestow freedom on him, or make any alteration in his temporal condition, in these

* See Salkeld's Reports, vol. ii. p. 666.

kingdoms." "We are also," they add, "of opinion, that the master may legally compel him to return again to the Plantations."

(Signed) "P. YORK,
C. TALBOT."

On the other hand, the opinion obtained from these latter authorities did not prevent a favourable verdict in behalf of two Negroes about the years 1732 and 1739. But such partial efforts were without any farther influence, and seem at last to have wholly sunk under the preponderating weight of York and Talbot's declaration. The disrespect for human freedom proceeded to so great a length, that our common newspapers not unfrequently contained advertisements for the sale of Slaves, male and female, in common with any other stock. One advertisement in the *Gazetteer*, April 18, 1769, classes together for sale, "at the Bull and Gate Inn, Holborn, a *chesnut gelding*, a *Tim whisky*, and a *well-made, good-tempered Black Boy**." Rewards were also offered for recovering and securing fugitives, and for conveying them down to certain specified ships in the river, with this additional proviso, "*The utmost secrecy may be depended on*†."

In the same open manner was the inhuman traffic authorized in our American colonies. Their daily

* Sharp's Tract "On the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in England."

† See Gazetteer above mentioned, April 18, 1769: advertisement for the apprehension of Jerry Rowland.

papers denounced, in every page, those wretched beings, who had either escaped from bondage, or were secured for sale. The mother and the child might, in the latter case, be purchased in one, or in separate lots, as best suited the interest of the buyer*; while, in the former, the punishment that was sometimes menaced, and the reward that was promised, appear to have been dictated by a spirit next to infernal†.

* From the New-York Journal, October 22, 1767:—"To be sold, for want of employment, a likely, strong, active Negro, &c. &c. Also, a healthy Negro wench, of about twenty-one years old; is a tolerable cook, and capable of doing all sorts of house-work; can be well recommended for her honesty and sobriety; *she has a female child of nigh three years old*, which will be sold *with the wench, if required*," &c.—(Sharp's Tract.)

† From the Williamsburgh Gazette, in Virginia:—"Run away from the subscriber, in Prince George, on the 10th instant April, a lusty, strong, boney Negro fellow, named Bob, of a brownish complexion, upwards of six feet high, about fifty years old, bow-kneed, and had on a cotton waistcoat and breeches, and an Osnabrug shirt: has a long visage, a Roman nose, and one of his upper fore-teeth is out. He has a wife at Mr. John Nelson's in Louisa, and I imagine he has gone up there, and may be harboured by some of his Negroes. The said fellow is outlawed, and *I will give ten pounds reward for his head severed from his body*, or forty shillings if brought alive. He has been burnt in the hand, and I suppose some evil-disposed person has given him a pass, that he may pass for a freeman.

"JOHN WOODLIFF, *senior*."

From the North-Carolina Newspaper:—"Run away, last November, from the subscriber, in Prince George, East River, a Negro fellow, named Zeb, aged thirty-six years. He is about five feet eight inches high; a very good cooper by trade: he is remarkably black, plays on the violin, and has a great deal to

The cause of the Negro Slaves had at length found advocates in America, in the Society of Quakers, whose efforts were great and unremitting, but unavailing except among their own body; to whose honour it is recorded, that, after many laudable researches carried on by individuals, respecting the actual state of the Slaves, a public acknowledgment of the sentiments of the Quakers was made in 1754, declaring, "that to live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity nor Common Justice." Shortly after this declaration, a general emancipation of Slaves belonging to Quakers was agreed on and begun*. But the example of this benevolent sect was more admired than imitated. They seem to have waited for the powerful direction of that associate, whom Providence was now about to unite

say for himself. As he is outlawed, I will pay twenty pounds proclamation-money, out of what the Act of Assembly (*a*) allows in such cases, *to any person who shall produce his head severed from his body*, and five pounds proclamation-money, if brought home alive. He is suspected to be harboured about Mount Misery. "JOHN MOSELEY."

* Mr. West, the late venerable President of the Royal Academy, informed me, that his father, a Pennsylvanian Quaker, was the first person who liberated his slaves, about twenty years previously to the public declaration.

(*a*) The Act of Assembly allowed a certain sum for every Negro that was killed after having been *outlawed*; which was the penalty of absenting himself from his master's service for the space of three months.

with them, and whose clear and comprehensive mind arose, like a friendly genius to man, to establish on solid grounds the long-contested, but indefeasible, rights of every creature of God.

In that country, likewise, a great political revolution was preparing, in which the same friend of mankind was destined to plead with less successful result in behalf of mutual amity and reconciliation; though his virtues, as will be seen, were usefully called into action at a later period, in an important establishment of religious worship.

His labours are equally conspicuous in other points affecting our national character. The continent of Africa, after enduring for nearly three centuries the ravages of avarice, owed to him the first foreign settlement of friendly commerce on its shores; and, through his arduous struggles, Great Britain claimed the gratitude of a long-degraded people for the returning dawn of civilization.

At home, many of the most distinguished efforts of the benevolent and religious societies with which he will be found to have been connected, are also of his time. Those which finally extorted from sluggish apathy, from power and prejudice, the Abolition of the inhuman Slave-Trade, stand in the list. The societies themselves either did not exist when his humane and virtuous mind first impelled him forward in the pursuit of public good, or all have derived an increase of strength from his co-operation.

The lives of some men may be contemplated in their opinions and private studies; of others, in their exertions and public concerns. It is rarely that the world beholds the union of unceasing action and unwearied study: still more rarely does it enjoy the sight of such united power devoting itself, at once meekly and resolutely, to the fear of God and the aid of man.

Yet such was the character of GRANVILLE SHARP.

Mr. SHARP * was descended from a family very anciently settled at Bradford-dale, in Yorkshire; and his more immediate predecessors had been distinguished for the same high qualities of which he maintained the lustre in his own example.

During the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, *Thomas Sharp* rose into notice from the particular degree of favour in which he stood with General Lord Fairfax, who held his head-quarters at his house at Bradford, and, among other marks of regard, offered him a commission in the army; but he declined it, preferring to continue in trade. It is unnecessary to say, that he was attached to the

* The name of *Granville* was derived from Sir Richard Granville, who was Vice-Admiral of England in the reign of Elizabeth. He reduced Virginia to allegiance, and added it to her Majesty's dominions. He was himself lineally descended from Richard, the third Duke of Normandy.—*Raleigh's Naval Register.*

opinions of the Puritans. His infant son, *John*, would have been brought up in the same principles, if the contrary attachment of the mother to the Royalist party had not given a more salutary direction to his mind. At the hazard of Lord Fairfax's displeasure, and eluding all the searches that were made for Common Prayer-Books in every house, she had preserved those of her family; and *one of them* she put into the hands of her son, instructing him to love and value it. The boy was particularly moved by reading the Litany; and to this first feeling was soon added a more powerful excitement by the accidental view of his father's secret devotions. Through a chink in the door of an adjoining room, he had perceived him at his private prayers: childish curiosity brought him back frequently to the same place, and he found "something in his father's manner of addressing himself to God in secret, something in the importunate earnestness of his devotions," so forcibly affecting his heart, that the impression was never effaced.

This boy was afterwards the venerable Archbishop of York*.

The disclosure of early talents in the child, probably induced the father to devote him to learned

* He retained his affection for the *Litany* through life, "judging it," as he said, "*as to the matter*, extremely well suited to the wants of mankind; and, *as to the manner of it*, exceedingly well contrived for the helping our infirmities in prayer."

pursuits. At the age of sixteen, with no other helps to literature than he had gained at the grammar-school of his native town at Bradford, John was admitted of Christ's-Church College, Cambridge, under the care of a faithful and enlightened tutor, whose diligent services he gratefully recompensed on his first advancement in the church*.

In the course of his college studies, the intenseness of his application brought on an illness, which terminated in hypochondriac melancholy, and, to rouse himself from this benumbing malady, he left the university for a short time; after which, having succeeded in regaining his health, he returned, to commence his studies in divinity†.

His great attention to the Church service procured him an unsolicited Living, and his excellent character the situation of Tutor and Domestic Chaplain in the family of Sir Heneage Finch, Solicitor-General. He was admitted into Holy Orders in 1667, and ordained Deacon and Priest in the same

* This was the Rev. Mr. Brooksbank, who, through the application of his pupil, then Archdeacon of Berks, obtained from the Chancellor the living of St. Mary's in Reading. Dr. Sharp offered to resign the archdeaconry in favour of his old master, to which the Chancellor would not consent, but added to his gift one of the prebends of Salisbury.

† To unbend his mind from severer studies, he commenced a collection of medals; which he afterwards so improved and enlarged, that it was inferior to few in England, particularly in regard of the Saxon and English coins. The collection has been further augmented by his descendants.

day by a particular dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In Sir Heneage's family he had the care of four youths, two of whom, entering the church, were afterwards made by him dignitaries of the cathedral of York.

He was scarcely twenty-eight years of age, when his patron (now made Attorney-General) informed him that the King had conferred on him the Archdeaconry of Berkshire. Sharp replied, that "he was too young and ignorant, and he wished to decline the preferment;" but the Attorney-General would not accept the excuse, and furnished him with all requisites for taking immediate possession.

Sir Heneage, (created a Peer in 1674, and) succeeding to the Chancellorship of England in 1675, soon placed his chaplain in a more conspicuous point of view, by entrusting to him the entire charge of recommending persons properly qualified to receive the numerous preferments in his gift. This arduous task he executed in so exemplary a manner, that no preferment passed through his hands, that was not bestowed on some one of the most learned and virtuous men of the time*. Three gifts only the Chancellor

* His conduct in this respect was uniform through life. "During a part of King Charles's reign, as well as in that of King William (by being joined in an extraordinary commission with some other bishops to recommend fit persons to crown-preferments), and also in the reign of Queen Anne, through the respect the Queen paid to his recommendation, he became instrumental in promoting some of the most shining lights in literature that the age in which he lived, or perhaps any other

reserved for his own disposal, and those he conferred on Mr. Sharp himself. Among them was the rectory of St. Giles's, which became his residence for sixteen years, and where he was revered as a minister who zealously and faithfully discharged all the duties of his office, but particularly those most important ones of catechising youth and comforting the sick. In the performance of the latter duty he bore an equal share with his curates, visiting the poor in the meanest garrets and cellars, and never refusing his personal attendance, wherever it was required*.

age, ever produced; Archbishop Tillotson, who was made Dean of Canterbury (his first preferment) by his recommendation; Bishops Bull and Beveridge, whose learned and truly pious publications will ever do honour to their names; Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, author of the 'Connection between the Old and New Testament;' Dr. Bentley, the learned Master of Trinity College; Dr. Potter, highly esteemed for his Greek Antiquities, and other works of learning, and afterwards eminent as Archbishop of Canterbury; the worthy and amiable Sir William Dawes, who, by Dr. Sharp's particular recommendation to the Queen just before he died, succeeded him as Archbishop of York; the learned Dr. Mill; Dr. Hales, eminent afterwards as a philosopher; and Dr. Grube, a learned Prussian divine. Many other pious and worthy men were preferred by his means, but the above were the most eminent."—*Letter from Granville Sharp to Dr. Witherspoon*, 1764.

* "His compliance herein put him sometimes in hazard of his life. Once, when he was called, by two unknown gentlemen, to an unknown place, on pretence of visiting a dying friend, and not without suspicions of some treacherous design upon himself—(for it was a particular time in King James's reign, when he had grounds for such a distrust)—he nevertheless ventured with them, only taking with him the guard of

In 1679 he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and in 1681 was promoted to the Deanery of Norwich.

In 1686 he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to James the Second, and continued so till the Revolution; though the manner in which he spoke of the Church of Rome, in the pulpit, was so little agreeable to this monarch, that the Bishop of London (Dr. Compton) was advised to suspend him; but he refused, and, after a short time, Dr. Sharp was restored to the King's favour.

The Revolution which took place, did not, in any manner, alter the steady tenour of his conduct. With the same independence with which he had censured the Romish religion before James, he prayed for that monarch before the Prince of Orange, on the first Sunday after the opening of the Convention, and also before the House of Commons, on the Wednesday following; considering, that, though the vote of

a servant, which was not usual with him, and ordering him to stand in the street before the house whither he was carried, and not to stir from thence upon any account whatever, till he saw him come out of the house again. This indeed was Mrs. Sharp's advice and precaution. And it had this effect, that when the design of the servant's attendance in the street was observed, by his utterly refusing to enter the house, the Rector, after waiting some time, was told that the stranger patient was then taking rest, and could not conveniently be disturbed; and so he was dismissed, and never heard afterwards either of the patient or his friends."—*MS. Life of Archbishop Sharp, by his Son, Dr. Thomas Sharp.*

abdication had passed that House, it had not yet received the concurrence of the Lords, and that the Service of the Church had not yet been altered by any due authority.

In 1689 he was farther promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury, and was named by King William one of the persons appointed to fill the sees vacant by the deprivation of their bishops. But in this latter point he unexpectedly declined obedience, on account of the dispossessed bishops being still alive, and his unwillingness to remove to any of those honourable situations under such circumstances. He requested, therefore, to remain in his own humbler station. But the strong friendship of Dr. Tillotson (then nominated for Archbishop of Canterbury), and his interest with the King, prevailed in reconciling the feelings of all parties. He represented to Dr. Sharp, that the King was offended at his refusal of a bishoprick; and that the only measure which could restore him to favour would be that of consenting to accept the Archbishoprick of York, whenever it should become vacant. This point he carried, and then obtained from William the order for the succession. About a week afterwards, the Archbishop of York (Lamplugh) died, and the two friends, Tillotson and Sharp, received their archiepiscopal consecration nearly at the same period. Dr. Sharp took the most affectionate leave of his parishioners in St. Giles's.

He was in his forty-seventh year when he was advanced to the see of York, and he sate in it two-and-twenty years.

His life as an Archbishop is too important in history, to admit of adequate mention in this place. His constancy and integrity, his learning and piety, his disinterested zeal and loyalty, secured to him the favour of William, and made him the confidential friend of Anne to the last hour of his life.

After the virtuous fulfilment of a long course of exemplary and painful duties, he died at Bath, on the 2d of February, 1713-14; and was succeeded in his high dignity by the person whom he had himself recommended to the Queen.

His character was drawn, with less of eloquence than of feeling, in a sermon preached at York on his decease*, by the Rev. John Blower, a prebendary

* Some particulars of the Archbishop's character here described bear so strongly on that of Mr. Granville Sharp, that they will, perhaps, be found worthy of reference.—

"Though he did not, upon several occasions, concur in his judgment, nor come into the same measures, with some eminent persons, both in church and state, yet he was never disunited from them in affection by a contrariety of sentiments." —"I can truly assert, that he was as hearty a well-wisher to the peace and prosperity both of the church and kingdom, and to the happiness of all mankind, as any one living; and as ready to promote these blessings according to his power; but he did not imagine that a zeal for the best things, or the most laudable aversion to all erroneous opinions, could sanctify any uncharitable animosity against the persons of men."—"Never was any man, as well by the tenderness of his nature as by the impulse of religion, better disposed to succour the

of that cathedral. The epitaph engraved on his

distressed, and relieve the necessities of the poor; to which merciful offices he had so strong an inclination, that no reasonable solicitations were ever in danger of meeting with a repulse. Nay, he was more prone to seek out proper objects of his bounty, than to reject them when recommended; and so far was his charity from any suspicion of being extorted by importunity, that it appeared rather a delight than uneasiness to him to extend his liberality upon all proper occasions."—*Discourse delivered in the Cathedral Church of York, Feb.* 14, 1713-14.

For the same reason, a singular anecdote of the Archbishop, related in the London Chronicle of Aug. 13, 1785, and always credited by his family, may be thought worth preserving.

" It was his Lordship's custom to have a saddle-horse attend his carriage, that, in case of fatigue from sitting, he might take the refreshment of a ride. As he was thus going to his episcopal residence, and was got a mile or two before his carriage, a decent, well-looking young man came up to him, and with a trembling hand and faltering tongue, presenting a pistol to his Lordship's breast, demanded his money. The Archbishop with great composure turned about, and, looking stedfastly at him, desired he would remove that dangerous weapon, and tell him fairly his condition. 'Sir! Sir!' with great agitation, cried the youth: 'No words—'tis not a time—your money instantly.'—'Hear me, young man,' said the Archbishop. 'You see I am a very old man, and my life is of very little consequence; yours seems far otherwise. I am named Sharp, and am Archbishop of York; my carriage and servants are behind; tell me what money you want, and who you are, and I'll not injure you, but prove a friend. Here, take this—and now ingenuously tell me how much you want to make you independent of so destructive a business as you are now engaged in.'—'O Sir!' replied the man, 'I detest the business as much as you. I am—But—but—at home there are creditors who will not stay—Fifty pounds, my Lord, indeed would do what no tongue besides my own can tell.'—'Well, Sir, I take it on your word: and, upon my honour, if you will, in a day or two, call on me at ——,

monument, was written by Dr. Smalridge, afterwards Bishop of Bristol*.

what I have now given shall be made up that sum.'—The highwayman looked at him, was silent, and went off; and at the time appointed actually waited on the Archbishop, and assured his Lordship his words had left impressions which nothing could ever destroy.

"Nothing more transpired for a year and a half, or more; when one morning a person knocked at his Grace's gate, and with a peculiar earnestness desired to see him. The Archbishop ordered the stranger to be brought in. He entered the room where his Lordship was, but had scarce advanced a few steps before his countenance changed, his knees tottered, and he sank almost breathless on the floor. On recovering, he requested an audience in private. The apartment being cleared, 'My Lord,' said he, 'you cannot have forgotten the circumstances at such a time and place: gratitude will never suffer them to be obliterated from my mind. In me, my Lord, you now behold that once most wretched of mankind; but now, by your inexpressible humanity, rendered equal, perhaps superior, in happiness to millions. Oh, my Lord,' (tears for a while preventing his utterance) 'tis you, 'tis you, that have saved me, body and soul; 'tis you that have saved a dear and much-loved wife, and a little brood of children, whom I tendered dearer than my life. Here are the fifty pounds; but never shall I find language to testify what I feel. Your God is your witness; your deed itself is your glory; and may heaven, and all its blessings, be your present and everlasting reward!—I was the younger son of a wealthy man; your Lordship knows him: his name was ————. My marriage alienated his affection, and my brother withdrew his love, and left me to sorrow and penury. A month since my brother died a bachelor, and intestate. What was his, is become mine; and, by your astonishing goodness, I am now at once the most penitent, the most grateful, and happiest of my species.'"

* His character is likewise ably drawn, at the end of *Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne*, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 64.

The Archbishop was born in 1644, and, at the age of thirty-three, married a daughter of William Palmer, Esq., of Winthorp, in Lincolnshire; a lady of an eminently virtuous disposition. Several children were the fruit of their marriage.

Thomas, their youngest son*, and father of the subject of the present Memoirs, was made Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1722. No less distinguished than the Archbishop had been, for integrity, piety, and a conscientious discharge of his duty, he was indefatigable in making himself acquainted with every clergyman in his province, and with the circumstances of their respective cures; so that not a curate or a schoolmaster was appointed without his sanction. All petitions, all cases of difficulty, every particular relative to church duties or parochial affairs, were referred to him, and never failed to receive an immediate and most scrupulous attention.

As a mediator and peace-maker, he was consulted alike by the rich and poor.

His charities were extensive and useful. "My "father," says Granville (in a letter to a friend in 1793), "was Rector of an extensive parish, "Rothbury, in the county of Northumberland, and "retained at his own expense five, if not more,

* Born, December 12, 1693.

" different schools in the villages, at convenient dis-
" tances, for the instruction of poor children whose
" parents could not afford to send them to school.
" The children, in all these schools, were taught
" writing and arithmetic, as well as reading; so that,
" in a long course of years, there were few to be
" found in the parish who could not write, if not
" retain also some knowledge of figures: and no
" people could be more remarkable for industrious
" exertion in the most humble labour, and at the
" same time for modesty and good behaviour, than
" the parishioners of Rothbury in general. The
" children of Roman Catholics, and of all other
" sects, were equally admitted to the benefit of the
" schools; and very strict care was taken not to
" give any offence to them, or their parents, about
" the difference of religious opinions*."

His writings are very numerous†. Among the most valuable is a MS. Narrative of his Father the

* Rothbury, in the diocese of Durham, was his first preferment. He was also a Prebendary of York, of the collegiate church of Southwell, and, finally, of Durham. He resided by turns at Durham and Rothbury, and, every third year, passed three months at Southwell; during which time, with virtuous munificence, he regularly expended the whole of the three years' revenues arising from his prebendal stall at that place, in acts of hospitality and charity.

† His printed works, in six vols. 8vo. are deposited in the episcopal library at Durham, together with two manuscripts relative to the history of the Cathedral and its principal Dignitaries, from the year 635 to his own time.

Archbishop's Life, both public and private, together with a collection of many of his letters, and other papers — a work which, whenever it shall be published, will form an important addition to the annals of English biography*.

He married Judith, youngest daughter of Sir George Wheler, a prebend of Durham, and died in 1758, having been the father of a numerous offspring, of whom five sons and three daughters arrived at maturity.

Of so large a family, the limits of a biographical work, devoted to a single eminent character, necessarily restrict the measure even of the most merited notice; but adorned, as the several individuals were, by qualities which form the Citizen, and describe the Christian, it would be injurious to pass their names in silence. The characters of the greater

* The anecdotes above related of the Archbishop are taken from this manuscript.

I shall add the character of the writer, as farther given in a marginal note, by his son Granville, in one of the works above mentioned.—

"The candour, judgment, and learning of this author are shewn in such of his works as are already printed, and particularly in the Hebrew controversy, wherein he so happily succeeded against the followers of Mr. Hutchinson. He was remarkable for his great sagacity and discernment as a critic. Of his thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, he has left a lasting monument to posterity, in his 'Discourses on the Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England, so far as they relate to the Parochial Clergy.'"

part are too strongly marked, to want the interest which biography demands.

The eldest son, *John*, who succeeded to his father's principal dignities in the church*, stands distinguished in the records of British humanity at Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland, — a place, where many circumstances have contributed to produce a charitable asylum unparalleled in our (or, probably, in any other) island.

The castle, now devoted to purposes of most singular benevolence, is situated on an almost perpendicular rock, close to the sea, and accessible only on the south-east side; on a spot, where (according to the monkish historians) once stood the palace of the kings of Northumberland, built by Ida, about the year 560; and parts of the present ruins are supposed to be the remains of his work. The rock on which it is placed, is one hundred and fifty feet above low-water mark, and, after the structure had fallen to decay, was famous only for the wreck of vessels, and the helpless cry of forlorn mariners thrown on the coast. Some partial repairs had been undertaken, for the purpose of holding the manor courts, and of forming a temporary dwelling for a religious minister within the castle; when the view of its stately remains of ancient grandeur, and

* As Prebendary of Durham, and Archdeacon of Northumberland. He was also Vicar of Hartburn, and Curate to the perpetual curacy of Bamburgh.

of the distress and danger which surrounded them, suggested to Dr. Sharp more enlarged designs, and ideas of relief proportionate to the magnitude of the occasion. On his succeeding his father as one of the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charity, plans were laid down, and preparations made, for roofing and clearing out the great tower or keep*, and adapting its spacious contents to the service of several charitable establishments. The upper story of the tower

* The castle is said to have been in good repair at the time of the Conquest, when it had, in all likelihood, some additions made to its works; and in the time of Henry the Second great repairs were also made, and other parts added. The keep, or great tower, was perhaps built at that time.

The castle remained in the Crown until the 10th of Elizabeth, when the Queen appointed Sir John Foster, of Bamburgh Abbey, Governor of it; and his grandson afterwards had a grant of it, together with the manor; but one of his descendants (Thomas Foster, of Adderstone), engaging in the Rebellion, in 1715, his estates, including the castle, were confiscated. They were afterwards purchased by his uncle, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who died 1722, having devised considerable estates in the counties of Durham and Northumberland to five Trustees, charged, in the first place, with the annual payment of some noble and well-known benefactions (to the University of Oxford, and to Lincoln College, of which he had been Rector; and for the augmentation of Livings, and the institution of Schools and Alms-houses, and other beneficent purposes, in the several counties and parishes with which he had been connected), and the residue being made applicable to any charitable use or uses, which the Trustees should from time to time appoint and direct. This surplus was accordingly applied to various purposes of charity, as occasion afforded, but without any regular or permanent system, till Dr. Sharp took the management of the trust, in 1758.

was formed into granaries, whence in times of scarcity corn was distributed to the indigent, without distinction, at a low price; the lower story was divided into rooms for the manor-courts, schools for educating the children of the poor, a hospital (with accommodation also for incurables), a dispensary, and a general surgery, with cold and warm baths for poor persons of all descriptions.

In the course of the former repairs, in sinking the floor of a cellar, a curious draw-well had accidentally been found, one hundred and forty-five feet in depth, cut through the solid rock; and at another part the remains of a chapel were discovered, one hundred feet in length*: both were now rendered useful to the purposes of the charity.

But the protection of the mariner who navigates along this dangerous coast, was the peculiar object of the establishment. For his sake a constant watch was set at the top of the tower; and when any ship was discovered in distress, signals were made, to direct the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to hasten to its assistance. If the vessel suffered distress in the adjacent Fern Islands, or Staples, a flag was hoisted,

* The chapel was found by throwing over the bank a vast quantity of sand, which had been driven in by the wind, and had greatly accumulated in length of time. The chancel of the chapel is thirty-six feet long, and twenty in breadth; the east end (according to the Saxon fashion) semicircular. The altar stood in centre of the semicircle, with a walk round it, three feet broad, for the priest to carry the Host in procession. The font, richly carved, is still remaining.

guns were fired at morning and evening, and a rocket was sent up every night, that the sufferers might know that they were perceived from the shore, and that efforts were making for their relief. Signals were also made to the fishermen of Holy Island, who, from their situation, are able to put off their boats, when none from the main land can pass the breakers; and premiums were assigned to those who should get the start in conveying succour. In foggy weather, a bell sounding from the tower, and a gun fired every quarter of an hour, were signals to the same effect.

In every violent storm, two men on horseback patroled the coast from sun-rise to sun-set; one of whom, in case of any shipwreck, returned to give alarm at the castle; and premiums were paid to any one who brought the earliest intelligence.

Within the castle, thirty beds were kept, well-aired, and in constant readiness to receive the sailors who escaped the storm, and who here found a store-house for depositing in security whatever might be saved from the wreck; and tools, timber, cables, and, in short, all that could be wanted for the repair of vessels—ready for their use.

The bodies of such as were cast lifeless on shore, were decently interred*.

* Mr. Granville Sharp, in a letter to the Marquis of Lansdown (1792), gives the following particulars of the charity.—

"The Account of Bamborough Castle, printed some years ago, contains but a very small part of the charities now in the

All these beneficent plans were, in the first instance, carried into execution with the utmost zeal and promptitude under Dr. Sharp's direction, and were conducted by him with equal attention and indefatigable perseverance for more than thirty years, to the time of his decease*. He resided in Bamburgh Castle several months in every year, anxiously superintending every part of the management; and, in order to encourage his successors to continue the good work, he not only expended a large part of his own property in his life-time on the improvements and accommodations of the place†, but at his death bequeathed to the Trustees his furniture, and his large and valuable library, besides a freehold estate, and a considerable sum of money to be vested in the funds, for the perpetual repair of the great tower or

establishment at that place. There is a medical dispensary, where many hundred sick and wounded persons every year receive advice and assistance. A large Saxon hall has been repaired and roofed as a school, wherein about 120 children are instructed; and an old Saxon chapel has been rebuilt on the ancient site; and both of them renewed as nearly as possible in the original style. Granaries are formed in the castle for corn, which is sold to the poor at an under price; and hand-mills are placed in the castle, that they may grind for themselves."

* A very interesting letter, written by himself, in which he gives a full detail of these charitable exertions, is preserved in Mr. Nichols's Biographical Anecdotes.—(See Letter *S.*)

† Dr. Sharp seems to have taken pains to conceal the sums expended on the charity by himself; but the whole amount was probably little less than ten thousand pounds.

keep, which he had himself occupied, and now proposed for their dwelling and use.

He died 28th April, 1792, "leaving," says Granville, "so ample a remembrance of his worth as to need no farther description."

Thomas, the second son, an accomplished scholar, and an exemplary parish priest*, greatly assisted his brother in establishing the charities of Bamburgh. He died in the prime of life.

The two next sons, *William* and *James*, raised themselves by talents and industry, the one to professional eminence, and both to affluence.

To the memory of the former, while I pay the tribute of duty as a biographer, let me be allowed to add that of affection as a friend, and to express the grateful reverence with which I call him to remembrance; happy, beyond my hope, if any record that I am able to offer, can repay a portion of the debt due to that almost parental care which his heart, overflowing with kindness, prompted him to extend to all. The view of his character, in comparison with that of *Granville*—a view so often and forcibly impressed on my observation during a long intercourse with the family—may in some degree serve to elucidate both.

* He was Rector of St. Bartholomew the Less in London, and Perpetual Curate of the curacy of Bamburgh.

When you addressed yourself to *William*, you waked at once the attention of a benevolent and affectionate spirit, that anxiously bent towards you, with the desire of contributing instantly to your relief; of one who felt, no less than the sufferer, the pain he witnessed; who strove to sooth the irksome sense of human infirmity, and to reconcile the afflicted to themselves. His looks spoke the compassion of his heart, and his presence brought comfort, even (though that was rare) where his skill failed to afford relief. — In *Granville*, benevolence and charity were not less prominently conspicuous, but they appeared divested of that keenness of sensibility which so quickly and irresistibly endeared the character of William. Granville's benevolence was pure and complacent, without anxiety, — without other emotion than that of an upright and generous spirit, steadily and actively discharging his Maker's commission. The expression of his sentiments was wholly free from disguise. Although his habitual charity of mind taught him to love the man whose opinion he chastised, he did not palliate error, nor veil the severest truth: what he spoke, you might at all times be sure was from the consent of his whole heart; all was simple, all was sterling.— Such were the nice features of distinction, in two men eminently united in every amiable and friendly quality, eminently pure, religious, charitable, and useful to mankind.

William's profession was surgery, which he

practised, with unremitting assiduity and the highest reputation, for a course of thirty-seven years; until a most severe and all but mortal attack of illness, attended with the loss of sight in one eye, compelled him to relinquish it*. During the whole of his professional attendance, he was known never to have consented to the amputation of a limb, until every effort to preserve it had been exhausted; and, in that case, his concern for human sufferings was such, that the previous agitation of his countenance never failed to announce the impending operation to his family. Such, too, was the benignity of his professional feelings, that once, while relating the progress of his early life, being asked if he had at the outset any powerful rival, he simply replied, "*I was never the rival of any man.*"

He extended his charities around him in every manner; relieving the sick and indigent, assisting the willing, and encouraging, with a fostering hand that never withdrew its protection, the advance of youthful talents and industry, whenever they came within his sphere.

* *Memorandum left on a slip of paper by G. Sharp.*— "*William Sharp*, the sixth son and seventh child, born at Whitton Tower, Rothbury, 1728-9, March 12th; married Sept. 5th, 1765, to Catherine, fifth daughter of Thomas Barwick, of Friday Street. They had only one child born alive, Mary, born 19th of April, 1778. He was most eminent in his profession as a surgeon in London, during the time he practised for himself, from 1750 to 1787; and having acquired a handsome fortune, retired to Fulham."

His house appeared the chosen residence of domestic peace and love. In it was assembled, every evening, the numerous band of brothers and sisters, knit in the union of Christian charity. No sight could be more affecting, more endearing. Alas!—if we may sigh for those who rest in bliss—of all who formed that happy circle, two alone remain; the widow of James, and his daughter, to whom the reader owes the present accurate collection of important documents.

His death, in advanced and declining age, is said to have been hastened by excess of affectionate alarm for his only child, on first perceiving the rapid approach of her mortal dissolution*. Severe indeed must have been a parent's presage of such a loss! The loss of one who was lovely in mind and exemplary in conduct; a long enduring lesson of meekness, patient suffering, and resignation to the Divine Will! †

* See notes to Part V. Chap. 1.

† I wish to refer the reader, for a fuller account of Mr. William Sharp, to the sermon preached on occasion of his death, by the Rev. John Owen, of Fulham, March 25, 1810. I shall extract from it an anecdote of peculiar interest.—

Mr. Owen, after describing, with his natural eloquence, the *demeanour* of Mr. Sharp during the Church Service, proceeds thus:—"But to view this part of his portrait complete, we must meet him at the altar, and see him kneeling to receive the pledges he so dearly valued of his Saviour's love. At this table, spread by the Lord of glory, and covered with more than angels' food, he was a constant and a thankful guest. So highly did he deem the obligation and the benefit of this pecu-

The name of *James* will occasionally be found in the following Memoirs, in his united action with Granville. His unshaken integrity gave him great influence in the city, where he carried on an extensive business as an ironmonger. His inventive genius, and knowledge of mechanics, rendered his efforts in trade more than commonly useful and beneficial. To him, chiefly, this kingdom is indebted for the first establishment of its inland navigation *. His house, like that of William, was the general home of the family; nor did he possess in a less eminent degree those affections of the heart which render home delightful.

liarly Christian ordinance, that he lost no opportunity of celebrating it himself, and took no common pains to bring all the members of his household to be partakers with him. On one occasion—an occasion which will be ever fresh in the memory of myself and those who witnessed it—he lingered, contrary to his general custom, behind the body of communicants. At length he approached the altar; but it was in company with a livery servant, newly received into his employment, and whose devotions he had been guiding during the progress of the service. With a tenderness and humility, seldom perhaps equalled, he made his servant kneel before he would advance; and then, servant and master, on their bended knees beside each other, and in the presence of God and of the congregation, ate the same spiritual meat and drank the same spiritual drink, as equally the objects of acceptance and mercy with Him who is no respecter of persons."

* "He distinguished himself by his zeal in projecting and promoting a scheme for a navigable canal from Waltham Abbey to Moorfields."—*Nichols's Anecdotes.*

Of Dr. Sharp's daughters, the virtues were domestic and exemplary.

I will not believe that England is deficient in other circles of domestic life, in which as many useful, virtuous, and endearing qualities are concentrated, as in the family whose shadows I am now tracing; but it is the lot of few to know them intimately. I have enjoyed a blessing of that kind, and my heart is grateful for it; and, while it indulges the remembrance of so much excellence, kindred minds shall, as I hope, be roused to emulation by these records, and chiefly by the memorial of him whose history I now proceed to detail, in the confidence of adding to the moral and religious treasures of the world, if my task shall be duly fulfilled. The example of a good man is an inheritance to ages; and it will be my endeavour to give an unbiassed and faithful narrative, such as will best suit the tenour of his simple and sincere course,—with the recollection that I should offend the memory of a sainted spirit, if I should exaggerate the fair and real merit of his actions; yet remembering also, that to extenuate it, even in a single point, would be to desert the cause of truth, and to defraud virtue of one of its just incentives to social action.

The character which I shall have to delineate, is of the highest order; but it is also the most plain and

easy to be understood, as it was always shewn without artifice or disguise. It is that of a man who, gifted with rare endowments, and led by the disposing hand of Providence to good, found his heart irresistibly directed to the relief of unmerited sufferings, his reason aroused to the reproof of pernicious errors, and his whole soul filled with the desire of universal human happiness. To the advancement of these sublime purposes he moved forward by a clew that admitted of no mistake, and that could not be broken. Intimately convinced of the Divine origin of the Scriptures, and of their containing the only certain grounds of our temporal and eternal welfare, he resolutely applied the whole faculties of his understanding, and bent the whole vigour of his mind, to search with accuracy their strict and unquestionable meaning. The languages in which they have been delivered to us were made the objects of his profound inquiry; and he became one of the ablest interpreters of them, that has appeared even to the present day.

Having thus endeavoured to render himself master of the real intent of the Sacred Precepts, he took them unalterably for his guides: he proposed them as a rule of conduct on all occasions, and he rigidly adhered to them in all his actions. To the same high tribunal, also, he referred all the reasonings and actions of other men; and the distinctions of season, power, place, and rank, sunk before it into comparative insignificance. This is the true light in which

he is to be viewed in every part of his long life, and in which he will be uniformly seen through the whole of this narrative. There is no moment of instability in his rule of duty, none of inconsistency in his practice. Like the Great Teacher whose lessons he humbly strove to obey, he pitied, respected, and loved mankind; but he condemned their errors, and reproved, in the hope to reform and save.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART I.

Freedom of Africans in England.

MR. SHARP'S EDUCATION — SITUATION IN EARLY LIFE — DEVELOPMENT OF GENERAL PHILANTHROPY — LIBERATION OF AFRICAN SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

HIS UNION WITH AMERICAN COLONISTS IN FAVOUR OF AFRICAN SLAVES — CONSEQUENCES OF THAT UNION.

HIS WRITINGS, TILL THE YEAR 1776.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

GRANVILLE SHARP was born at Durham, on the 10th of November 1735, O. S. A large part of his father's fortune had been expended on the education of the two eldest sons. The portions of the others were equally divided, and applied to their advancement in their respective occupations; that of the youngest being set apart to serve as an apprentice-fee in London, where it was his father's intention to place him in trade. With a view to this destination, he was at a very early age withdrawn from the public grammar-school at Durham, before he had gained more than the first rudiments of the learned languages, and was sent to a smaller school, to be instructed more particularly in writing and arithmetic.

In the spring of the year 1750 he left Durham, and in May was bound apprentice, in London, to a linen-draper of the name of Halsey, a Quaker, on Great Tower Hill; who dying in 1753, he remained,

under the same indentures, with Halsey's father-in-law and executor, Henry Willoughby, Esq., a justice of the peace, and a Presbyterian. In 1755 he was discharged by judgment of the Lord Mayor's court, in order to serve out the remainder of his term with another freeman of Halsey's company; but the judgment being reversed in the same year, he continued to reside with Willoughby till the following summer, when he obtained his consent to go into employ in the house of Bourke (a Roman Catholic) and Co., Irish factors, in Cheapside.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship he quitted his situation, and immediately engaged himself in the service of another linen-factory, which he had reason to suppose established on a large foundation; but finding the concern far more contracted than he had imagined, he soon relinquished his engagement.

To these circumstances, apparently of little importance, his own reflecting mind has given an unexpected interest. In this early stage of his life were laid the foundations of that equal temper, with which he was enabled to enter into argument with all who differed from him in religious opinions. "Though my father," he says*, "was a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, and brought me up in the public profession of that church, yet he was so far from being prejudiced against any man for being of a different persuasion from himself, that

* Letter to Dr. Fothergill, Aug. 1770.

he did not scruple to bind me as an apprentice to a Quaker, at the distance of nearly three hundred miles from home; though I was of so tender an age that I could not be supposed capable of discerning the propriety or impropriety of any difficult argument that might be thrown in my way, and, consequently, was liable to receive prejudices of education even in favour of Quakerism.

"After I had served about three years of my apprenticeship, my master the Quaker died; and I was turned over to a Presbyterian, or rather, as he was more properly called, an Independent. I afterward lived some time with an Irish Papist, and also with another person, who, I believe, had no religion at all.

"This short history" of himself, he adds, may serve to "remove any suspicion of" his "being influenced by prejudice of education against any particular sect;" and he grounds on it a rule of conduct which cannot be too warmly recommended to our notice;—"This extraordinary experience," he says, "has taught me to make a proper distinction between the OPINIONS of men and their PERSONS. The former I can freely condemn, without presuming to judge the individuals themselves. Thus freedom of argument is preserved, as well as Christian charity, leaving personal judgment to Him to whom alone it belongs."

In this period he made his first advances in learning. A series of controversies with an inmate

of his master's house, who happened to be a Socinian, first excited him to the study of the Greek language. They disputed concerning the Trinity, and the Atonement of Christ; and on these topics the Socinian declared, that Granville was mistaken in the opinions which he uttered, and that his misconception arose from his want of acquaintance with the Greek tongue, "in which," he asserted, "the subjects of their disputes did not suffer the interpretation which he put on them, and he therefore referred him to the New Testament in its original text."

He learned Hebrew nearly at the same time, and from a cause exactly similar. A Jew, who appears to have resided also in his master's house, frequently contested with him the truths of the Christian religion, and, when hard pressed by his earnest reasonings, constantly declared that he misinterpreted the prophecies, from ignorance of the language in which they were written; referring him to the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as the Socinian had done to the Greek Testament.

To be ignorant of the truth, was, to his ardent mind, a source of inexpressible pain; to neglect the means of acquiring a knowledge of it, insupportable disgrace. The diligence of his inquiries kept pace with the acuteness of his feelings.

A disposition to beneficence also manifested itself in these early years of his life. Justice Willoughby had formerly followed various occupations in trade,

from which he had finally retired. He very soon began to take great notice of young Granville, who, in return, after two or three years' residence in Halsey's house, discovering that his friend had a rightful claim to the title of Baron de Parham, devised the only method in his power to promote it. His relation, Dr. Dering, was chaplain to the Earl of Winchelsea, the descendant of Archbishop Sharp's great patron, the Lord Chancellor Finch. To him Granville made a report of the circumstances; and the Earl, being by these means apprized of them, caused Willoughby's claim to be laid duly before Parliament, and procured his admission to the House of Peers, where he sate for the remaining years of his life*.

Mr. Sharp took up his freedom of the city, in the Company of Fishmongers, in August 1757.

In the same year he received the afflicting news of his mother's death; and, in the spring of the year following, of his father's also. On both these occasions he hastened to his family in the North; and in the latter visit he remained some time, in order to assist his brothers and sisters in the various removals that ensued; and finally returned to London, bringing with him two of his sisters.

* The title was adjudged to him (in consequence of the decease of Hugh, fifteenth Lord Willoughby de Parham) in the sixth session of the twelfth Parliament of Great Britain, and he took his seat accordingly, April 25, 1767. He died in 1775, aged seventy-nine."—*Collins's Peerage.*

The reasons that induced him to abandon the track of business in which he had been twice engaged, are now unknown. The death of his father, however, left his choice at liberty; and in June 1758 he obtained a subordinate appointment in the Ordnance office.

From that date to the year 1764 there are few notices concerning the employment of his time: his office necessarily engaged the greatest portion of it: but it is certain that in this interval he completed those acquisitions in the sacred languages, which enabled him afterwards to maintain the extraordinary part that he assumed in society. His hours of study were snatched from sleep, and some hints of the eagerness, with which he pursued his researches, are found in his letters.

In the March quarter of the year 1764 he was appointed a Clerk in ordinary, and removed to the Minuting Branch.

It was very soon after the date of this appointment that the singularity of his character began to unfold itself. In 1765, he unexpectedly engaged in a literary controversy with Dr. Kennicott (the learned publisher of the Hebrew Bible), which involved a contest for superior accuracy in Hebrew literature and Biblical learning, and which he conducted with no inconsiderable credit to his abilities*. Some

* The reader will find an account of this controversy in its proper place.

other tracts also appeared from his pen, tending to promote the general interests of society.

Nearly at the same time, chance directed his attention towards the sufferings of a race of men who had long been the sport and victims of European avarice. In the first moments of his action, he had no other object in view than the relief of a miserable fellow-creature, struggling with disease and extreme indigence; but such was then, under Heaven, the widely increasing spirit of social charity, that England was destined shortly to behold (and to be herself the scene of the extraordinary spectacle) a private and powerless individual standing forth, at the divine excitement of Mercy, to rescue those whom the force of disgraceful custom injuriously bound in chains;—to see him, when opposed in his benevolent efforts, arm himself, by the study of our laws, to assert the unalterable course of justice, and for that end prepare to resist the formidable decisions of men who had filled the highest stations in our courts of judicature; maintaining his ground against them with unanswerable arguments, and finally overthrowing the influence of authoritative, but unjust, opinions;—an event not more glorious to the individual himself, than to our country's constitution, of which it demonstrated the mild and liberal spirit, friendly to every consideration that can be suggested for the benefit of mankind.

Mr. Sharp's papers, fortunately, afford the most accurate notices of these singular transactions from

their commencement. They are described in his usual clear and unaffected manner; and as the plainest truth is the greatest ornament of historical relation, the whole of his manuscript notes will be copied as occasion requires, and collected in the course of the following narrative. The reader has only to observe, that the parts so transcribed will be regularly distinguished by the prefatory capitals *MS.*; under which, both in the present and other parts of these Memoirs, Mr. Sharp will be left to relate his own history.

He gives the account of an AFRICAN, of the name of Jonathan Strong, whose pitiable case furnished the first opportunity of trying a cause, as important to humanity in general, as to the just renown of our English charter.

The professional arrangements of Mr. William Sharp, whose house was open every morning for the gratuitous relief of the poor, were the first means of bringing Strong to the knowledge of either brother. Pain and disease, the consequence of severe blows and hardships, led the miserable sufferer to seek the aid of medical assistance; and it was in one of his morning visits to the surgery in Mincing Lane that he was met by Granville, as he approached the door of the house, ready to faint through extreme weakness. On inquiry, it was found that he had been a Slave of Mr. David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, whose barbarous treatment had by degrees reduced him to a state of uselessness, and whose brutal

heart had then turned him adrift in the streets*. This happened in 1765.

By the united care of the two brothers, into whose hands Strong had providentially fallen, he was restored to health†, and placed in the service

* It appeared in the course of the legal examinations which ensued, that Strong's master, Lisle, had beaten him violently on the head with a pistol, which made his head swell very greatly, and, when the swelling abated, a disorder fell on his eyes, which nearly occasioned the loss of his sight. This was followed by an ague, fever, and lameness in both feet, in which miserable condition he came to the surgery for relief.

The minutes of this case, as well as of the succeeding Negro causes, were taken down in short-hand by Mr. Sharp's orders. Copies of them in full are preserved in the collections of the African Institution.

† "Mr. William Sharp gave him admission to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he was cured of his general complaints; but the return of his sight remained very doubtful. This affliction rendering him still incapable of providing for himself, both Mr. William and Mr. Granville Sharp gave him charitable assistance at different times, not having the least suspicion that any person whatever had any claim on his person."—*Minutes of the Case of J. Strong.*

I cannot refrain from adding another short testimony of Mr. William Sharp's humane behaviour to the distressed, which appeared in the voucher delivered in court by Strong himself:

"I meet with a man—told him my case: he recommended to Mr. William Sharp in Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street: I took his advice, and went to Mr. Sharp. I could hardly walk, or see my way, where I was going. When I came to him, and he saw me in that condition, the gentleman take charity of me, and gave me some stoff to wash my eyes with, and some money to get myself a little necessaries till next day. The day after, I come to the gentleman, and he sent me into the hospital; and I was in there four months and half. All the while I was in

of a respectable apothecary (Mr. Brown) in Fenchurch Street. In that comfortable situation he remained for two years, when, as he was one day attending his mistress behind a hackney coach, he was seen, and quickly recognised, by the lawyer to whom he had been a slave; and who, conceiving, from his appearance and active employment, that he must have regained his strength sufficiently for useful labour, instantly formed a design to recover possession of him. He followed the coach, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of his abode; and, having discovered it, laid a plan to entrap him.

MS. 'Some days afterwards, he (David Lisle) 'employed two of the Lord Mayor's officers to attend 'him to a public-house, from whence he sent a 'messenger, to acquaint Jonathan Strong that a 'person wanted to speak with him: Jonathan, of 'course, came, and was shocked to find that it was 'his old master who had sent for him, and who 'now immediately delivered him into the custody 'of the two officers. Jonathan, however, sent for 'Mr. Brown, who likewise came; but being violently 'threatened by the lawyer, on a charge of having 'detained *his property* (as he called Strong), he was 'intimidated, and left him in Lisle's hands.

the hospital, the gentleman find me in clothes, shoes, and stockings, and when I come out, he paid for my lodging, and a money to find myself some necessaries, till he get me into a place. JONATHAN STRONG."

'After this, G. S. received a letter from the 'Poultry Compter, signed *Jonathan Strong*, a name 'which he did not at first recollect: he sent, how-'ever, a messenger to the Compter to inquire about 'him; but the keepers denied that they had any 'such person committed to their charge.'

This refusal was sufficient to rouse the suspicion and to call forth the active benevolence of Mr. Sharp.

MS. 'G. S. then went himself to the Compter, 'inquired for the master of the prison, and insisted 'on seeing Jonathan Strong. He was then called, 'and was immediately recollected by G. S., who 'charged the master of the prison, *at his own peril* '*not to deliver him up* to any person whatever, who 'might claim him, until he had been carried before 'the Lord Mayor (Sir Robert Kite), to whom 'G. S. immediately went, and gave information that 'a Jonathan Strong had been confined in prison 'without any warrant; and he therefore requested 'of his Lordship to summon those persons who 'detained him, and to give G. S. notice to attend at 'the same time. This request was complied with.'

It is feelingly remarked, by an eminent and intimate friend of Mr. Sharp, that his extraordinary action in behalf of the African race did not take its rise in *theory*, but was elicited by the occurrence of

natural circumstances; and, agreeably to this observation, it will presently be seen, that the few events just related form the whole ground-work of his final success in the present case, and of his subsequent exertions in others of a similar nature.

MS. 'When the appointed day was come '(Sept. 18), G. S. attended at the Mansion-House, 'and found Jonathan in the presence of the 'Lord Mayor, and also two persons who claimed 'him; the one, a notary public, who produced a 'bill of sale from the original master* to James

* As documents of this kind are now happily obsolete in England, the reader may think a specimen of them worthy his curiosity.

"*BILL, &c. &c.*——To all to whom these presents shall come, David Lisle, of the parish of St. James, &c. &c. greeting. Know ye that the said David Lisle, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds good and lawful money, &c. to him in hand truly paid by James Kerr, Esq. late of Jamaica, &c. &c., doth grant, bargain, sell, and confirm unto the said James Kerr, his heirs and assigns, *one Negro Man Slave*, named Jonathan Strong, now in the possession of the said David Lisle, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders rents, profits, and services of the said Slave, and all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim, and demand whatsoever, of him the said David Lisle, of, in, and to the same, To have and to hold the said Negro man, Jonathan Strong, unto the said James Kerr, his heirs, &c. to the only proper and absolute use and behoof of the said J. Kerr, his heirs and assigns, &c. for ever, &c. "Signed, DAVID LISLE."

(Here follows a receipt from David Lisle for the thirty pounds paid by James Kerr.)

Minutes of the Trial of Jonathan Strong.

'Kerr, Esq., a Jamaica planter, who had refused 'to pay the purchase money (thirty pounds) until the 'Negro should be delivered on board a ship belonging 'to Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, bound to Jamaica; 'the captain of which vessel, Mr. David Lair, was 'the other person then attending to take him away.

'The Lord Mayor having heard the claim, said, 'that "the lad had not stolen any thing, and was 'not guilty of any offence, and was therefore at 'liberty to go away;" whereupon the captain seized 'him by the arm, and told the Lord Mayor, "he 'took him as the *property* of Mr. Kerr." Mr. Beech, 'the city coroner, now came behind G. S., and 'whispered in his ear the words 'Charge him;' at 'which G. S. turned upon the captain, and in an 'angry manner said, "Sir, I charge you for an 'assault." On this, Captain Lair quitted his hold of 'Jonathan's arm, and all bowed to the Lord Mayor 'and came away, Jonathan following G. S., and no 'one daring to touch him.'

'A few days after this transaction, G. S. was 'charged, by a writ, with having robbed the original 'master, David Lisle, the lawyer, of a Negro slave, 'and also of another slave, &c. &c.'

In these charitable exertions Granville appears to have been seconded by his brother James. He alludes to this circumstance, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Muysson (in Nov. 1767), in which he mentions "a law-suit commenced against

him and his brother James for having lawfully and openly obtained the liberty of a poor Negro before the Chief Magistrate of the city*."

But the action at law was not the only weapon employed to alarm him, and to deter him from the prosecution of his humane task. That no method might be left unessayed, which avarice or malice could prompt, to retrieve the step that had been lost, David Lisle sought out the *Negro's* FRIEND at his brother William's house (where he then resided), and, having announced his name, was admitted. The conversation, *on one part at least*, was warm; and Lisle, after ineffectual denunciations of revenge in various ways, attempted to intimidate by a challenge.—It is important to learn in what manner a defiance of this nature was received by a man of Mr. Sharp's character: the anecdote is thus related in the Manuscript Notes.

MS. 'Oct. 1, 1767. David Lisle, Esq. (a man of 'the law) called on me in Mincing Lane, to demand '*gentlemanlike satisfaction*, because I had procured 'the liberty of his slave, Jonathan Strong. I told 'him, that, "as he had studied the law so many 'years, he should want no satisfaction that the law 'could give him."'

* A manuscript account (also drawn up by Mr. Granville Sharp) of the action brought on this occasion by Lisle, is entitled, "*The Case of James and Granville Sharp, as far as they have any concern with James Kerr, Esq.*"

Mr. Sharp kept his word faithfully, but in a way little to be expected from a person who, as he himself states, "had never once opened a law book, to consult it, till on occasion of the present cause."

His first step, in order to defend himself from the legal process instituted against him, was, to apply to an eminent solicitor in the Lord Mayor's office, and to retain Sir James Eyre, then Recorder of the city (and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas), as his counsel. After some consideration of the case, the solicitor brought him a copy of the opinion given in the year 1729, by the Attorney and Solicitor General, York and Talbot, (asserting, as before stated, that a Slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, does not become free); and assured him that they should not be able to defend him against the action, as the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was also decidedly of the same opinion.

Information coming from such sources, and delivered on such authorities, would have produced despair in a mind less firm, less conscious of its own powers and of the unconquerable claims of universal justice. To Granville it furnished excitement, and a resolution (however unwillingly taken) to depend on himself in the arduous task which he now saw presented to him. "Thus forsaken," he says (in a letter of reply to the Earl of Hardwicke*), "by my

* The Opinion of York and Talbot being quoted (many years afterwards) in Bowyer's "Poems on the Abolition of the Slave

professional defenders, I was compelled, through the want of regular legal assistance, to make a hopeless attempt at self-defence, though I was totally unacquainted, either with the practice of the law or the foundations of it, having never opened a law-book (except the Bible) in my life, until that time, when I most reluctantly undertook to search the indexes of a law-library, which my bookseller had lately purchased."

It will be found, from a subsequent letter to the Bishop of London, that, in pursuance of this resolution, he gave himself up, for nearly two years, to an intense study of the English laws on those points particularly which regard *the liberty of person* in British subjects. A folio common-place book, filled with the most important extracts on that topic, attests his unremitting diligence†.

As it was during these researches that his mind appears to have been first turned to the substantial redress of detested slavery, our attention is naturally called to observe the rising progress of his thoughts on the subject. The following notes, in which, as

Trade," the Earl of Hardwicke, with feelings which did honour to his heart, but under the influence of less accurate information than was his due, addressed a note to Mr. Bowyer, questioning the correctness of the statement. Mr. Bowyer applied to Mr. Sharp for a satisfactory answer to his Lordship's observations; which was accordingly sent in the letter here alluded to.

† The folio is thus marked on the cover, in his own handwriting: "Memorandums of Law and Constitutional History, selected in the course of reading."

before hinted, a simple recurrence to the acts of aggression on the part of Lisle is rendered productive of the most powerful inference, are copied from an entry made by himself on a detached sheet of paper. They follow in the order here given:—

MS. '1767, Saturday, September 12.—Received 'a letter from Jonathan Strong, a Negro.

'Went to Mr. Brown's to inquire.

'Saw Mr. Brown's shopman, who informed me, 'that J. Strong was carried away to the Poultry 'Compter by a person (assisted by two others) who 'said that Strong was his slave;

'That he said Strong had robbed him (or carried 'away his property); but on being questioned as to 'what he had lost, it appeared to be only an old livery 'on Jonathan's back, part of which he confessed the 'boy had parted with some time before he left him.

'That Mr. Brown sent Poole to see the boy in the 'Compter, who *was twice denied* admittance.' . . . .

'"EVERY ALIEN AND STRANGER are bounden 'by and unto the laws and statutes of this realm, 'and to all and singular the contents of the same." 'Act 32 Henry VIII.—Consequently, they are the 'King's subjects within this realm, and *as such* must 'be under the protection of the laws of this realm.— 'Query, whether aliens oppressed in England, under 'the pretence of their being slaves, may not sue their 'respective masters, in the King's name, for attempting forcibly to keep, detain, and transport out of

'the kingdom as slaves, aliens that are his Majesty's 'subjects, as above recited, and are, consequently, 'under the protection of the laws of this realm?'....

'There is no English law to justify the mas-'ters of slaves against such a plea. One or two 'late precedents of trials may perhaps be alleged, 'which may seem to confirm a right over slaves; 'but I apprehend that the trials were founded only 'in a vulgar error that Negroes are made free by 'baptism, and therefore, as such a supposition has 'nothing to support it, the causes were of course 'lost.

'But the same cannot be said, when put upon 'the right footing; for there is no law to justify a 'claim to the servitude of any man in England, 'native or alien, unless he is indentured for a term 'of years with his own consent. An Act was passed 'in 1st Edward VI. chap. 3, by which vagabonds 'were made slaves, but was repealed the 3d or 4th 'of the same reign (chap. 16). And, besides, the 'word *slaves*, or any thing that can justify the enslav-'ing of others, is not to be found, God be thanked, 'in any other law or statute whatever—at least, that 'I am able to find out.'

There is something deeply affecting in this document. The single point of truth which here dawned on his mind, opened the whole subject to his view, and, like the apple which fell to the ground in Newton's sight, led to the astonishing consequences

which have followed his exertions. This point once established, the errors of ignorance and the artifices of fraud became alike ineffectual. Here was the solution of all the difficulties which had embarrassed the former trials of Negro causes.

In his difficult task of legal inquiry he had no instructor; no assistant, except his own diligence; no encourager, except his own conscience. For it is remarkable, that, during his studies, he applied to the celebrated judge and commentator, Dr. Blackstone, but received little satisfaction from his opinion on the interesting subject in question*. He consulted, likewise, several other professional men of eminence, but could find no one whose opinion was favourable to his undertaking. "Even my own "lawyers," he repeats, "were against me;" so much force had precedent, and the authority of those great names, York and Talbot, to bias even the soundest judgments.

The powers of Mr. Sharp's genius were shewn in the result of his study. Decided and unsubmitting as to the *end* of his labour, he gradually put forth in manuscript such arguments as he deemed most powerful in favour of the Negro's rights, combating every objection with fresh vigour, and continuing to join *part* to *part* of his work, as the cause proceeded. —Lisle, finding the nature of the person with whom

* Some letters relative to this subject are found in his *Correspondence*.

he had to deal, invented various pretexts for deferring the suit against him, and at length offered a compromise, which Mr. Sharp rejected.

By continued application, before the final term when he was to answer the charge against his brother and himself, Granville had added to a thorough investigation of the English laws much extraneous research into those of other nations; and he had compiled in manuscript, a tract "On the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery, or even of admitting the least Claim to private Property in the Persons of Men, in England." This tract, when completed, he submitted to the perusal of Dr. Blackstone*, and then

* His letter to Dr. Blackstone on this occasion is remarkable for the great deference with which he looked to his candid assistance and advice, at the time that he was resolutely acting in opposition to his avowed sentiments in his Commentaries.

"*Oct.* 4, 1768.

"SIR,—Being desirous that my remarks on the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, York and Talbot, should be quite ready for the press against the termination of my law-suit, I have lately revised and made several alterations in them, and have taken the liberty to send you a copy, which I earnestly desire you to peruse, and to inform me, whether you have any objection to what I wrote concerning your own opinion on that head. I shall think myself much honoured by your directions, if you should think proper that I ought to make any farther alterations. However defective my writings on the subject may be, I am assured of your good opinion, with respect to the intentions of them, by the polite and affable reception which my brother James and myself met with, when we had the honour of waiting on you in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Solicitor-General,

employed his utmost efforts to circulate it, by means of numerous copies, among those on whom he wished it to produce a favourable effect. The arguments contained in it were irresistible; and by its success he had the satisfaction of amply fulfilling his promise to his antagonist. "The substance of this tract," he says, "was handed about among the gentlemen of the law, in twenty or more different MS. copies*, for nearly two years, until the lawyers employed against the Negro, Jonathan Strong, were intimidated †, and the plaintiff was compelled to pay treble costs for not bringing forward the action ‡; after which," he adds, "the tract was printed in 1769."

before he left town, advised me to have a consultation of counsel in the beginning of next term; and this, whether my adversaries continued their suit or not. "G. SHARP."

The counsel alluded to appear to have been, Dr. Blackstone himself, the Solicitor-General before-mentioned, and the Recorder.

* Twenty copies were found among the papers given by Mr. Sharp's executrix to the *African Institution*.

† For the causes of their alarm, read the extract from the "Act for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for preventing of Imprisonment beyond the Seas;" 31 Car. II. 1679; printed in Mr. Sharp's Tract on Slavery, at the end of the first part.

‡ This circumstance is verified by the following memorandum:—"1774. May 24th. Received from Mr. Kerr, costs, on account of the suit in behalf of Jonathan Strong, 19*l.* 14*s.*; and paid Mr. Colston's bill (his attorney) out of it, 11*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*; and to Adkinson, 1*l.* 1*s.*

Lisle seems to have made a second attempt to establish his

Thus far Mr. Sharp's own narrative. It is now proper to give some account of the singular instrument by which he secured his triumph over his opponent.

The tract *on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in England*, was a plain, manly, and clear defence of the part which he had taken. In it, he combated the opinion of York and Talbot, first, by opposing to it the authority of the eminent Lord Chief Justice Holt: he then impugned it, by asserting that it was delivered *conditionally* only, *not absolutely*, and stated its *conditional conclusion* to be perfectly right, and its defect to be, the having omitted to *express the condition* on which alone it rests—namely, the existence of a prior contract in writing, denoting the *voluntary relinquishment of freedom* on the part of the slave.

He next proved, by legitimate distinctions, that a Negro is neither of *a base nature*, nor *a thing*—as he had been termed by slave-holders—but that he possesses from nature the privilege of his *humanity*,

claim, but probably soon found his error, as no farther mention of it occurs beyond the following note:—

"*Old Jewry*, 3*d June*, 1769.

"Mr. G. S. presents his best compliments to Mr. Mist, and will be much obliged to him if he will be pleased to acquaint Jonathan Strong, that Mr. Kerr has litigiously commenced another action on his account with Mr. James and Granville Sharp, notwithstanding that his attorneys deceitfully contrived to keep the last suit in suspense for eight terms (though only three are allowed by the law) without daring to bring it to an issue."

and that he does not fall within any of the cases in which the English laws divest a man of that privilege*.

He then proceeds to state, agreeably to his first conception of the subject, that *every man* in England is a bounden subject of the King, and thereby a part of his property, and entitled to his protection; and he finally demonstrates the wisdom of our laws in the use of the general, comprehensive terms, in which *all subjects*, of whatever rank or condition, *actual* or *prospective*, are alike included.—This doctrine he supports by the Act of Charles II., "*For the better securing the Liberty of the Subject*," &c.—These were the arguments of the First and Second Parts.

To a clear and convincing statement of such facts, he added a menacing caution to all who should dare to advise or abet the imprisonment of Negroes; of which proceeding he shewed the danger, on the authority of the same Act of Parliament†.

* "Disabling him to hold any office or franchise, as if such person was naturally dead."

† In an occasional addition to the first part of his tract, addressed, "to Messrs. David L—le, James K—r, John R—ss, William M—cb—n, James M—ll—r, and David L—d," after alluding to the civil *divesture* mentioned in the preceding note, he continues thus:

"But there are, likewise, other cases wherein a man may be said (in a moral sense) to divest himself of humanity, and subject himself to the civil death before mentioned, being liable to be put out of the King's protection. For instance, Every man who ranks his Negro servant with his horse or his dog; calls him private property; and, *as such*, presumes to commit,

——The conclusion of the cautionary remarks is

detain, imprison, or sell him FOR TRANSPORTATION OUT OF ENGLAND, contrary to the true meaning of the statute of 31 Car. II., which is expressly intended 'for the better securing the LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT, and for prevention of imprisonment beyond the sea;'—for, as there is no exception whatsoever of any particular rank or denomination of subjects, every individual (except the King himself) is most certainly included under this general term, Subject. 'Likewise, all or any person or persons, who shall have framed, contrived, written, sealed, or countersigned, any *warrant* or *writing*' [*N. B.* A bill of sale may certainly be included under these terms] 'for such commitment, detainer, imprisonment, or transportation; or shall be advising, aiding, or assisting in the same, or any of them.' [*Note* again, That it is dangerous even to give opinions, or to act as counsellor or attorney in favour of so bad a cause.] 'And the *plaintiff in every action* shall have judgment to recover his *treble costs*, besides damages; which damages, so to be given, shall not be less than five hundred pounds. In which action, no delay, stay, stop of proceeding by rule, order, or command, nor no injunction,' [for the Judge may not direct the Jury contrary to this statute, let his private opinion be what it may,] 'protection, or privilege whatsoever,' &c. &c.

"And farther: 'Every person, lawfully convicted of any of the aforesaid offences, shall be disabled to bear any office of trust or profit within the said realm of England, and shall incur the pains, penalties, and forfeiture, ordained in and by the statute of *Provision* and *Præmunire*, made 16th of K. Rich. II., and be incapable of any pardon from the King, &c. and shall be wholly *put out of the King's protection.*"

He then adds, "Now, if it will be any satisfaction to my opponents to know what persons in the present case are liable to incur the several penalties above mentioned, I am willing to give them all the information that I can—viz.

"1st. The *buyer*, and, 2dly, the *seller* of the Negro; 3dly and 4thly, The *two city officers*, who apprehended and confined him; 5thly, The *notary-public* who drew up, witnessed, or

expressive of the high and manly character of the writer*.

In a third part, he examined the advantages and disadvantages of slavery, in regard to national property and morals, and demonstrated its inconsistency with the English laws.

negotiated the bill of sale. And, 6thly, The *master of the West-India ship*, who demanded him in the name of the buyer, in order to transport him beyond the seas; contrary to the meaning and intent of the said recited act of 31 Charles II.

"All these six persons, if lawfully convicted, will be severally liable to pay 500*l.* at least for damages, besides treble costs; —so that the Negro might undoubtedly have ample amends for his sufferings.

* "But I have not concerned myself in this affair for any such purpose. If I appeared in favour of the Negro, it was because he was in distress. Therefore, I shall seem unreasonable, if, in attempting to relieve one person, I should cause an equal distress to six others, by enabling that *one* to put the rigour of the law in execution against them: and I am the more inclined to lay aside such prosecution, because the several persons concerned seem to have been led to these offences *by mistaken opinions of Counsel.*

"Therefore, if all these persons will acknowledge their error in writing—(I do not mean that they should subscribe themselves *guilty*, but only that they will use some such general and safe expressions as shall be agreed on for that purpose)—so that the same may be made public, in order to deter others from the like offences, and for the *vindication and right understanding of English liberty*—I will immediately drop all thoughts of prosecution in behalf of Jonathan Strong: provided also, that the said parties give sufficient security for their future good behaviour.

"But if they reject these friendly conditions, they may be assured that I shall think myself in duty bound, as a *man*, as a *Christian*, and as a *subject of England*, to defend the said

In the last part, he gave an accurate account of the gradual abolition of the state of *villenage* in England.

The labour of producing this glorious development of the English palladium of liberty, necessarily demanded the most assiduous and unwearied application*. The triumph of his humanity was his reward.

But he did not desire to rest here. He had, during this period of labour, re-edited a publication printed in America in 1762, containing an "Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes, and of the Slave Trade;" to which he added a "Conclusion," calculated to increase the public interest in the cause which he had undertaken; and, on occasion of printing his tract on the Injustice of Slavery, he addressed himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter, which, while it gave evidence

Negro, and this my opinion, in the King's Courts, to the utmost of my abilities: for my opinion is not founded on my own presumption, but on the plainest literal expressions of statutes formed and ordained by the wisdom and authority of King, Lords, and Commons. GRANVILLE SHARP."

1767, *October 9th.*

* How sensible he was of the difficulty of his undertaking, is demonstrated by a note, p. 121 of the same tract, Part IV.: "Those gentlemen of the law, whose contrary doctrines I am unfortunately obliged to oppose, are numerous, eminent, and learned; and some of them (with respect to the proceedings of a late trial) have so far prevailed, as to give me every just reason to dread a confirmation, by judicial authority, of those doctrines against which I contend."

of his strong religious feelings, broke the first ground also in England on the general subject of the Slave Trade.

To his Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

"My Lord, Old Jewry, May 15, 1769.

"I have taken the liberty to send your Grace a little tract against Slavery; part of which, in manuscript, was honoured with your perusal and approbation.

"Having since heard a solemn debate in Westminster Hall; and having also myself discoursed with several eminent and learned gentlemen of the law upon the point in question; I found it necessary to make very considerable additions, in order to obviate all their objections, and that I might not leave them the least shadow of an excuse for their misinterpretations, both of the statute and common law of England.

"How much soever I may have failed, either in points of style as a writer, or of method as a law commentator, yet if it appears upon the whole that I have reason and justice on my side, with respect to the main design of the work, it is as much success as I ought to expect; and I am sure, if this should be really the case, that your Grace's humanity will lead you to consider of some proper method of putting a stop to the dangerous increase of Slaves in this kingdom, as well as of procuring a repeal of those iniquitous Plantation Laws, which reflect not only dishonour, but the blackest guilt, on the British Government, so long as they are tolerated.

"Interested persons plead the necessity of such a toleration; but it appears, by a letter written many years ago by a planter of Antigua, that necessity was not the true reason of introducing Negro Slaves into the plantations,

but that the desire of encouraging the African trade was the real motive; and from thence we may learn likewise, that White servants (provided they are temperate and sober) are sufficiently capable of working in those hot climates." [He here gives an extract from the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xi. p. 146.]

"I take the liberty of mentioning thus much to your Grace, because the Government, even at this time, is made to believe that the African trade is a capital object of their consideration; and a man-of-war is now going, at the King's expense, with engineers, draughtsmen, &c. to survey the Company's castles and fortifications on the African coast.

"The trade for gold dust, elephant's teeth, &c. &c. is certainly valuable, and deserves encouragement; but the unlawful practice of buying and selling the persons of the unfortunate natives, ought by all means to be prohibited, if the Government is concerned; otherwise, the British Government is answerable for all the unjust wars which distract those wretched countries, and which may draw heavy judgments upon this kingdom.

"I am myself convinced, that nothing can thrive which is in any way concerned in that unjust trade. I have known several instances, which are strong proofs to me of the judgments of God, even in this world, against such a destructive and iniquitous traffic.

"By your Grace's exalted station both in church and state, you have it more in your power to act with good effect in this cause than any other of his Majesty's subjects; and should you undertake it, I doubt not but that thousands, and ten thousands, who are now sunk in a most deplorable state of wretchedness, will have reason to bless God for the good success of your Grace's endeavours.

"With the greatest respect and esteem," &c. &c.

During the progress of these transactions, several circumstances had conspired to stimulate Mr. Sharp's efforts in the course of Christian charity which he was pursuing. From the zeal and ability which he had manifested in his correspondence with Dr. Kennicott, as well as from the station which he had voluntarily taken in public action, and the resolute manner in which he devoted the powers of his strong understanding to the interests of a fellow-creature, it was natural to imagine, that a mind so virtuously directed, as it would dispose, so it would eminently fit, its possessor for the ministry of religion. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 1767, he was warmly pressed to enter into holy orders, by his uncle, the Rev. Granville Wheler, who offered to resign in his favour the living of Great Leke, in Nottinghamshire, worth at that time somewhat more than 300*l.* per annum. The following letter contains his answer.—

*To the Rev. Granville Wheler, Esq.**

"Dear Sir, "Nov. 26, 1767.

"You desired me to take time to consider of your late proposal to me; which I have accordingly done: but this consideration has had no other effect than that of making

* The Rev. G. Wheler claimed the addition of *Esquire*, as being the son of Sir George Wheler, who was knighted by Charles II. at Winchester; and he was at all times peculiarly solicitous to retain the distinction.

me still more sensible of the greatness of my obligation to you, for the very extraordinary generosity and kindness of your intentions.

"I cannot satisfy myself concerning my own qualifications for the proposed honourable function; because I think, that, in a situation where more fruit would be expected, the same poor abilities would appear in a very inferior light.

"This, however, is not my only reason for declining it; for indeed I pay very little regard to what the world may think of my abilities; and I hope I shall always be more ambitious of maintaining the character of an honest man and a Christian, than that of a scholar. But the truth is, that I have not the least inclination for the employment of a minister: and even if I could flatter myself that I am at all capable of serving the cause of religion, yet I should apprehend that I might much more effectually do so as a layman, than as a clergyman, especially in religious controversies, wherein a volunteer has many advantages with the public, both with respect to the estimation of his motives for defending the truth, and also with regard to what may be expected of him; but more particularly if it is known that he neither professes that kind of warfare, nor has regularly studied to qualify himself for it. However, the unexpected favour of your proposal is not lost upon me: for this remarkable token of your esteem and approbation of my endeavours has afforded me the most sensible satisfaction, especially as I am bound in gratitude, as well as natural duty, to be ever solicitous of maintaining your good opinion, which I value in the highest degree.

"Your dutiful Nephew," &c. &c.

Notwithstanding this candid avowal of his sentiments, a similar offer was several times renewed by his uncle; but the acceptance of it was uniformly declined.

Refusals of this nature are sometimes prompted by personal feelings, either of aversion to those restraints which the religious profession necessarily imposes, or of scrupulous objections to some particular expressions in the Articles of our church. Neither of these motives was likely to influence a man whose mind had been early formed to religious temperance, and was now enlarged by the most comprehensive view of its duties. His refusal, therefore, was dictated, as the style of his letter indicates, by a simple sincerity of heart. He perceived a wide field before him, into which he could enter for the service of religion, and he did not wish to confine his path. But, in declining the opportunity of professional service, he measured with conscientious strictness the comparative standard which he thus solemnly raised for his future conduct; and he regarded his decision in this instance as a pledge irrevocably given for the most strenuous activity, wherever the interests of our pure religion might be concerned. Hence we may date from this period the establishment in his heart of an additional motive to the most serious and important exertion of his faculties.

Another case had likewise occurred, while the suit

with Lisle was still pending, which tended to engage him more deeply in the behalf of Negro Slaves. This was the case of Hylas, also an African, which was brought to trial in the year 1768. Hylas complained that his wife had been kidnapped by a man of the name of Newton, and sent to the West Indies to be sold for a slave. Our philanthropist was applied to, and interested himself for the success of the cause. In consequence of the view which he had taken of the subject (in the manner above related), Hylas was enabled to prosecute the aggressor, whose slave his wife had been in Barbadoes; and the cause was tried before Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, in the court of Common Pleas, on the 3d of December. The decision was in favour of the plaintiff: damages were given; and the defendant was bound, under a penalty, to bring back the woman, either by the first ship, or at farthest within six months.

Mr. Sharp attended the trial, and drew up a report, with remarks on it*.

* In this report, the case stated by the Judge for the determination of the Court was as follows:—

"Plaintiff, and his wife Mary, were Negro Slaves, born in Barbadoes: the plaintiff was the property of Miss Judith Aleyne; Mary was the property of Mrs. Newton, wife of the defendant. They so being slaves were brought over, by their several master and mistress, in the year 1754: they were married, by the consent of Miss Aleyne and Mr. Newton, in the year 1758. In the year ——, the plaintiff left the family, with the consent of Mr. Newton; and in the year 1766 they sent

His mind was now fully awakened to the magnitude of the abuses which existed with respect to African slaves in this country, and he looked anxiously around on every part, to prevent any accumulation of the evil against which he had been contending. Two letters, written by him in this and the following year, will prove the vigilance which he began openly to demonstrate.

To Mr. Alderman Beckford.

(Enclosing a MS. copy of "Remarks on the Injustice of Slavery.")

"Sir, 17th May, 1768.

"A copy of an advertisement was put into my hands this morning, which had been inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* of yesterday, for apprehending a poor wretched Negro boy, whereby a reward was offered to whoever will bring him, or any tidings of him, to *Mr. Beckford, in Pall Mall.* Now, Sir, as I have a very great esteem for the name of Beckford, on account of your steady and independent behaviour on all public occasions, and because I believe you to be a sincere well-wisher to the true interests, constitution, and liberties of this kingdom, I have made bold (on a supposition that Mr. Beckford in Pall Mall may be a relation of yours) to send you the

away the plaintiff's wife, Mary, without his consent.—Upon the whole, if the Court should be of opinion that she did not continue the Negro servant of the defendant, they will find a verdict for the plaintiff."

The farther remarks on the trial are so sensible, so strong, and so calm, that they will be inserted in the Appendix.

enclosed remarks, concerning the tenure of Negro Slaves in England.

"I am thoroughly persuaded that the holding of slaves in this island may be productive of very bad consequences, especially as it seems at this time a very growing evil. ——I am apprehensive that you are at present of a very different opinion; and, what is worse, I cannot at all flatter myself (notwithstanding all my pains-taking) that what I have written is so far conclusive as to move your assent. Nevertheless, I hope at least that you may be thereby induced to consider the subject more seriously than you have hitherto done; and on this only I rely,—for I have not the least doubt, from your general character, that, howsoever we may differ in opinion, you will, notwithstanding, most certainly discard all motives of private interest, which might be liable to affect the point in question, if, on a strict examination, they should appear to be repugnant to equity and justice.

"With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

Mincing Lane, 17th May, 1768.

To the Right Honourable Lord Camden, Lord High Chancellor of England.

(Enclosing an advertisement from the *Public Advertiser.*)

"My Lord, "28th Nov. 1769.—Old Jewry.

"The enclosed advertisement was inserted in the 'Public Advertiser' of this day; and as I humbly conceive that the frequency of such publications must tend very much to extinguish those benevolent and humane principles which ought to adorn a Christian nation, I hope your Lordship will pardon the liberty I now take, in laying

the same before you, together with a printed remonstrance, which contains my reasons more at large.

"By the high office with which your Lordship is most worthily invested, you are certainly the constitutional guardian even of the meanest of his Majesty's subjects, when oppressed; and therefore I am thoroughly persuaded that your Lordship will take such notice of this notorious breach of the laws of nature, humanity, and equity, and also of the established law, custom, and constitution of England, as will be most consistent with that strict and unshaken regard for all these which has always been a distinguished part of your Lordship's character.

"With all imaginable respect and esteem," &c. &c.

Advertisement.

"To be sold, a Black Girl, the property of J. B——, eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition.——Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement's Church, in the Strand."

The reader may perceive, from the dates of these letters, that it was within the same period that Mr. Sharp addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury in the solemn manner before noticed.

The devout turn of mind disclosed in that letter, and the zealous reverence of the sacred Scriptures, which had before excited his controversy with Dr. Kennicott, were manifested also about this time, in a correspondence into which he entered with the eminent Physician and Quaker, Dr. John Fothergill, on the subject of religious worship. Dr. Fothergill, from a general sense of respect for Mr. Sharp's character, and a desire to assist his benevolent purposes

with regard to the Negro Slaves, had sent him some important suggestions in their favour, with many expressions of his approbation of the tract against Slavery. He at the same time requested his acceptance of a copy of Barclay's Apology for the Quakers; of which work he had just published a very handsome edition, "and which," he says, "has at least the merit of being printed by Baskerville." "The sentiments it contains," he adds, "are humane, and will be so far agreeable to you." Mr. Sharp began to read and to examine. His natural earnestness of investigation soon again animated his study. The rights of human freedom, graciously imparted by the Creator, had already called him forth to useful labour; the return of pure obedience and worship from the creature, now became with him an object of equal solicitude. The result of his researches was the production of a work in reply, which, previous to its intended publication, he sent in MS. to Dr. Fothergill, according to his custom *. The Doctor,

* It was entitled "An Apology for an Apology," &c. This work, I believe, was never printed, probably from Mr. Sharp's perceiving that he was in danger of unprofitably offending those whom he could not hope to convince.——It is just to notice, in this instance, a proof, confirmed by numerous subsequent ones, of the real and constant motive by which he was actuated, in the publication of his various writings. They were, uniformly, either handed about in manuscript, or presented gratuitously in print to those whose interest he conceived to be any way involved in them, or to whom he thought they might be acceptable; but were rarely offered to the

however, did not immediately accept his advances in the same kind part in which they were designed, and an intercourse of letters was commenced, altogether of the most interesting and important nature. Two letters in particular, (one from each party), preserved in Mr. Sharp's correspondence, present a most striking example of that temper and Christian benevolence which in argument appear to adorn none but the brightest and wisest minds.

Mr. Sharp's acquaintance with Dr. Fothergill began on that occasion; and it will be seen, in the events that succeeded, how justly both these excellent disciples of an equal Master had learned to appreciate the difference between opinions and personal worth.

public, and never with any view of emolument from their sale; so decidedly was the hope of doing good the sole object in every action of his life.

This was particularly his mode of proceeding in all matters of a *controversial* nature, wishing always that those persons, whose opinions he opposed, should be the first to be made acquainted with his sentiments, and have time to consider his arguments, before they were publicly stated. Indeed, if they produced any effect on the mind of his opponent, he either remained satisfied, or obtained his permission to make them known for the good of others.

It was not till 1807 that he printed a Letter, in answer to some of the "Leading Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers;" and even that Letter, as the title-page expressed, was printed only for private communication.

CHAP. II.

At no great distance of time from the preceding events, the powerful weight of Mr. Sharp's arguments, printed in his tract on Slavery, was again felt in our courts of law. He had the gratification of witnessing their influence on the occasion of a trial in defence of another Negro, whom he (as his MS. Notes state), "at the request and at the expense of Mrs. Banks, mother of Mr. Banks, the traveller*, had released, by writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a ship then under sail in the Downs."

As this case was of considerable importance to the general interests of the Negro cause, it will be necessary to relate some previous circumstances of the transaction.—An African, of the name of Thomas Lewis, had formerly been a slave in the possession of a Mr. Stapylton, who now resided at Chelsea. Stapylton, with the aid of two watermen, whom he had hired for that purpose, in a dark night seized the person of Lewis, and, after a struggle, dragged him on his back into the water, and thence

* Afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., G.C.B.

into a boat lying in the Thames, where, having first tied his legs, they endeavoured to gag him, by thrusting a stick into his mouth; and then, rowing down to a ship bound for Jamaica, whose commander was previously engaged in the wicked conspiracy, they put him on board, to be sold for a slave on his arrival in the island.—This treacherous act, how warily soever it had been contrived, had not escaped notice in the adjoining mansion, which Lewis knew to be inhabited by Mrs. Banks's family. His cries, on his way to the boat, reached the ears of some of the servants, who immediately ran out to give assistance; but they did not venture to attempt his rescue, because the ruffians pretended to have a warrant from the Lord Mayor for his apprehension. They, however, hastened back to acquaint their mistress with what had passed; and Mr. Sharp, beginning now to be distinguished as the protector of distressed Africans, was again resorted to, for instructions how to proceed in behalf of the unfortunate man who had been carried off.

MS. ' 1770, July 3.—Mrs. Banks called on me ' in the Old Jewry this morning, about a Negro, ' George August, *alias* Thomas Lewis, who had been ' kidnapped.—Went with her to Justice Welsh: got ' a warrant from the Rotation Office in Litchfield ' Street, to bring back Thomas Lewis. The warrant ' was backed by the Mayor at Gravesend; but the ' ship being cleared, the captain refused to obey the

'warrant: they could not stop her, and she sailed 'for the Downs.

'July 4.—Went to the Lord Mayor, and to 'Justice Welsh, also to Judge Willes and Baron 'Smith, for a writ of Habeas Corpus, in behalf of 'Thomas Lewis.

'6th.—Mrs. Banks called, and said her servant 'was gone with the Habeas Corpus.'

The ship having fortunately been detained in the Downs by contrary winds, the writ was served, and the captain delivered up the Slave.

MS. 'July 7.—Peter (the servant just before 'mentioned) called before eight o'clock this morning, 'with the Negro, and the waterman, Richard 'Coleman. I got a warrant to take up Stapylton 'and two of his accomplices.'

Thus, by the fourth morning after Mr. Sharp first heard of the seizure of the Negro, a warrant had been obtained, and sent on board the vessel in which he was confined at Gravesend; and that proving unsuccessful, and the vessel having sailed for the Downs, a writ of Habeas Corpus was procured (with some difficulty, arising from the accidental necessity of applying successively to several magistrates), sent down to Spithead, and served on board the ship still lying in the Downs; the slave himself brought safely back to London; and a

warrant issued against the author of the outrage! The promptitude of head, heart, and hand, in this transaction, can scarcely be surpassed; and yet the principal charge of Mr. Sharp's self-accusations, as will be seen hereafter, was slowness!!

The transaction, of course, did not end here.

MS. 'July 12.—A bill was this day preferred, 'and found by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, at 'Hicks's Hall, against Stapylton, and against Malony 'and Armstrong, watermen, in behalf of Thomas 'Lewis. This indictment was found by the Grand 'Jury, without the least demur or doubt on account 'of the plaintiff's complexion, or idea of private 'property.

'The cause was removed by *certiorari* to the 'King's Bench, and brought into court before Lord 'Chief Justice Mansfield, on the 20th February, '1771.'

When the trial came on, the two watermen, employed to seize Lewis, did not appear, but only Stapylton the master, who defended himself on the plea of Lewis belonging to him as a slave. But a claim of that nature had now lost its force. Mr. Dunning, one of the counsel employed by Mrs. Banks in behalf of the Negro, held up Mr. Sharp's Tract in his hand, and declared, before Lord Mansfield and the Court, that he was prepared to maintain, in any of the courts in Great Britain, that *no man can*

be legally detained as a slave in this country. . . . . No demonstration more honourable could be given, of the impression which the legal suggestions, contained in that work, had made on a professional man of distinguished capacity*.

MS. 'Lord Mansfield avoided bringing the question to issue, by discharging the Negro on some 'other pretence.' . . . 'He was, in fact, discharged 'because the defendant could bring no evidence that 'Lewis was even nominally his property.'

It is remarkable, that the triumph, obtained in the cause just related, was rather forced on Mr. Sharp than sought by him. After the bill of indictment had been found by the Grand Jury, taking into consideration the many disagreeable circumstances, as well as expenses, to which Mrs. Banks would be exposed by a law-suit, he had made overtures to Stapylton of a compromise, on such terms as the justice of the case required. To these Stapylton peremptorily refused to accede, and instantly removed the cause to the King's Bench, with a view to increase the expenses of the prosecution.

On this movement, Granville drew up a petition, which he presented to the Court in the name of

* Mr. Dunning's expressions on this occasion have been preserved by Mr. Clarkson, in his "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

Lewis, but tending chiefly to enforce on the Court the real and disinterested intentions of the prosecutrix.

The following papers give a clear view of the proceedings.

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

" Madam, " July 18th, 1770.

" I have taken every opportunity of leisure since I saw you last, to urge your solicitor, Mr. Lucas, to use his utmost diligence in securing Stapylton and his accomplices, and that he should likewise endeavour to persuade them to make proper submission, and get clear of the prosecution on the terms which I proposed—viz. public acknowledgment, sufficient security for the peace, and the payment of all charges. But, notwithstanding these equitable terms, Stapylton has moved the indictment into the Court of King's Bench; in order to which, however, he has thought himself obliged to change his attorney for another, probably less scrupulous, whose name is ———.

" The greatest part of the charges in bringing on this affair in the Court of King's Bench, I am told, must fall on the defendants, because they are the movers from the other Court: but be this as it will, it is certainly very disagreeable to be engaged in a law-suit, though law and justice and right be ever so apparently on our side. I shall therefore use my best endeavours to intimidate the defendants and their attorney, by every fair method and argument that I can devise, that they may be induced to submit to the accommodation proposed.

" With great respect," &c. &c.

Petition of Thomas Lewis, presented to the Court.

"That your humble Petitioner is informed, that (by an Act of Parliament, which he heard read when he lodged his complaint before his Majesty's justices of the peace), those who are in any way concerned in attempting to transport *any person whatsoever* out of this kingdom without his own consent, either by advising, abetting, aiding, or assisting, &c. or shall even sign their names to any paper or warrant for such transportation, are liable to very severe penalties, and that very considerable damages are adjudged by the law in favour of the sufferer, when the facts are sufficiently proved.

"That your Petitioner is neither able of himself to carry on a *prosecution in form*, nor is desirous that the law should be enforced in its utmost rigour, which he apprehends would absolutely ruin the several offenders. He only wishes that this Court may make them truly sensible of the heinousness of their offence, and oblige them to make public acknowledgment thereof, that others may be deterred from committing such unlawful and dangerous outrages.

"That your Petitioner also implores, in the King's name, the protection of this Court, that all the parties concerned against him may be bound in a sufficient recognisance for the preservation of the King's peace in general, and for their future good behaviour towards your Petitioner in particular."

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

" Madam,

" Stapylton and his attorney still seem obstinately determined to stand trial*; so that I now repent most heartily that we did not abide by the measures which I at first proposed—viz. merely exhibiting articles of the peace at the sessions; for, though the latter might have seemed too mild a proceeding against so heinous an offence, yet it would have entirely baffled Stapylton, without putting it in his power to have removed the cause from the sessions. I cannot help being very uneasy about the risk of a trial, especially as you have already incurred such heavy charges:

* In a Memorandum which Mr. Sharp sent to the counsel in the cause, he lays great stress on this circumstance in favour of the plaintiff Lewis. " Some mention," he says, " ought likewise to be made in the brief, that the prosecutor would gladly have dropt the action, provided the defendant would have given security for his future good behaviour, and have made public acknowledgment of his fault, for the sake of example.

" These friendly terms were repeatedly offered, and as often haughtily rejected by the defendant, of which I apprehend sufficient proof can be given.—The Court will be convinced from this circumstance, that the prosecution is not carried on either through malice or with a pecuniary view, to profit by the just damages which the law assigns in recompence to those who have been injured by such outrages; but it must plainly appear from thence, that the sole motive of this action is self-defence against bodily insult, involuntary transportation, and *wretched slavery*;—a most reasonable plea this, when an innocent man labours under such dreadful circumstances! Such a plea must necessarily *demand* the favour of the Court, and I doubt not will greatly influence the Jury in behalf of the prosecutor and the justice of his action."

and as I am chiefly to blame for this continuation of expenses, by being too easily persuaded to consent to an indictment, I shall be very glad to be admitted to any share of the future expense that you shall think proper; for you cannot possibly have this affair more at heart than I have.

"But, if an offer of this kind from a person of so very humble a fortune as myself, should seem rather like vain ostentation, I hope the following apology will be admitted in my favour;—that money, in my opinion, has no value but when it is well spent; and I am thoroughly convinced, that no part of my little pittance of ready money can ever be better bestowed than in an honest endeavour to crush a growing oppression, which is not only shocking to humanity, but in time must prove even dangerous to the community.

"I have ordered Mr. Lucas to prepare a brief with all speed, and lay it before Counsellor Lucas, with a proper fee; and as it is the safest way to have two counsel, our next step must be to retain a proper person to take the lead in the Court of King's Bench.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

The pecuniary offer was declined; but Mrs. Banks assented to every thing which could serve the general cause of humanity, generously expressing a pleasure that the affair had taken its present turn, and especially directing the means by which Mr. Sharp might be relieved from every expense that might ensue*.

* The postscript to her letter on this occasion discloses a farther trait of Mr. Sharp's benevolence and active provision for every want of his fellow-creatures:—"I am afraid T. Lewis

Mr. Dunning and Mr. Davenport were the counsel named by her for the ensuing trial.

To Mrs. Banks.

"Old Jewry, Friday, 22d February, 1771.

"G. S. presents respectful compliments to Mrs. Banks, and most heartily congratulates her on the success of her charitable and generous support of Thomas Lewis, on Wednesday last, February 20th.

"The general question, indeed, was so far evaded by the Court, that the Jury had it not in their power to find a verdict so determinate and full to the *honour of humanity* as could have been wished, or indeed as the honest Jury

will contract an idle habit by continuing so long out of place, but can hear of nothing for him at present. He was for some time prevented *attending your kind bounty* by illness, but got quite strong and hearty some days ago, when I found he still neglected to *attend his school-master*."

Mr. Sharp's minute attention, indeed, to every circumstance in which protection was demanded for the weak, could only be fully described by a detail which would far exceed the bounds of publication. The following letter, written at an early period of Lewis's case, will serve as an instance.

G. S. to Mrs. Banks.

"Madam,—John Thomas, the Negro in whose care Thomas Lewis was left by your servant Peter, informs me he has engaged himself to go to the East Indies, as servant to Capt. Dampier, and that he must leave his lodgings on Thursday; so that poor Thomas Lewis will be once more left without an adviser, to prevent his being imposed upon. I thought it necessary to apprise you of this, lest the poor ignorant lad's indiscretion should by any means frustrate your generous intention of establishing his liberty.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

themselves really seemed to intend; nevertheless, as humanity has been fully exemplified, even in the very endeavours of Mrs. Banks to maintain the dignity of the human species, the honour will be reciprocal to both.

"G. S. will beg Mrs. Banks's acceptance of a copy of the trial, as soon as it can be written out from the notes in short-hand, because a view of the diligence and adroitness of her counsel on that occasion will probably afford her both entertainment and satisfaction."

The reader is by this time fully acquainted with the genuine modesty of character, of which the last letter presents an instance. How entirely does the writer lose sight of his own share in the transaction!*

The steps of freedom in the cause of Lewis, (in the path which Mr. Sharp had laid open), are too important to be passed over without some further detail of the legal proceedings. From the minutes of the trial, preserved in the African Institution, it appears that, after a long and minute investigation of the Negro's circumstances, Lord Mansfield put the following question to the counsel for the defendant:

* In the same manner, at the first notice which he received (on the 3d of July) of the seizure of Lewis, although his MS. states that he went *in person* for a warrant, yet, in an account which he appears to have drawn up for perusal, he merely says, "*The servants* (Mrs. Banks's) *procured a warrant* from the Mayor of Gravesend," &c. &c.

Lord M. "Have you any deduction of *property?*"

Counsel. "My Lord, I can prove Lewis to have been the *servant* of the defendant."

Lord M. "I'll tell you what I think to do. The GENERAL QUESTION may be a very important one, and *not in this shape ever considered, that I know of.* If you have any title of property, I shall first of all leave it to the Jury, whether he is the property as a Slave; and then put it in some solemn way to be tried. His being black, will not prove the property." . . . . . "I have granted several writs of Habeas Corpus upon affidavits of masters for their Negroes;—two or three, I believe, on affidavits of masters deducing sale and property of their Negroes: upon being prest, I have granted Habeas Corpus to deliver them to their masters; but whether they have this kind of property or not, in England, has never been solemnly determined."

These speeches evidently shew the doubts which had arisen in Lord Mansfield's mind, as to the legality of any power over slaves in this country; although, from long-established precedent, he soon afterwards added as follows:

Counsel. "It was in the year 1762 that we first purchased the boy."

Lord M. "If you have any evidence of the fact you allude to, it will acquit them (the defendants)."

At the close of the examination, Mr. Dunning proceeded: "Gentlemen, I need not give you much trouble: if it had been necessary, I should have

submitted what my ideas were on this kind of property; but since they have not proved the fact they endeavoured to prove, it makes it very unnecessary for me now to discuss the law. I don't myself see what evidence there is on which the question of property can be construed."

Lord M. "Yes, there is evidence. I shall certainly leave it to the Jury to find whether he was the defendant's property or not."

Mr. D. "Then, if my Lord thinks there is evidence sufficient for the question, I shall submit what my ideas are upon such evidence, reserving to myself an opportunity of discussing more particularly, and insisting, *that no such property can exist*—which I will maintain in any *place*, and *in any Court in this kingdom*; reserving to myself a right to insist, that our laws admit of no such property*."

Lord Mansfield, in summing up to the Jury, concluded thus: "If you are of opinion he was his [the Defendant's] slave and property, you will find a special verdict, and that will leave it for a more solemn discussion concerning the right of such property in England; but if you find he is not the slave, nor property of the defendant, you will find the defendant guilty of this indictment."

* Mr. Sharp, who, as it seems, was present at the trial, had here the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Dunning hold up in his hand, as before mentioned, the tract "on the Illegality of tolerating Slavery in England," having one finger in the book, to keep open a particular part.

The Jury brought in their verdict in these words: "We don't find he was the defendant's property." These were, of course, the words of the foreman, but there arose at the same instant a general voice of "*No property, no property.*"

Lord M. "Then you find him guilty?"

A general voice from the Jury again pronounced, "*Guilty.*"

Lord M. to *Mr. D.* "You will see more in the question than you see at present. It is no matter mooting it now; but if you look into it, there is more than by accident you are acquainted with. There are a great many opinions given upon it; I am aware of many of them: *but perhaps it is much better it should never be finally discussed or settled.* I don't know what the consequence may be, if the masters were to lose their property by accidentally bringing their slaves to England. I hope it never will be finally discussed; for I would have all masters think them free, and all Negroes think they were not, because then they would both behave better*."

It is highly interesting to trace, in these circumstances, the unforeseen advance toward the ever-glorious abolition of a detestable traffic, which so long disgraced our annals.

On Monday, 17th June, the counsel for the plaintiff moved the Court for judgment on Stapylton

* Minutes of the trial of Thomas Lewis, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 20th of February, 1771, in the possession of the African Institution.

and his accomplices; and on the Wednesday following, the application was renewed: but Lord Mansfield was unwilling to proceed, expressing great doubts on the evidence. He even expressed surprise that Stapylton should be brought up for judgment by the prosecutrix, and added, "I should advise her not to bring him up, as she has got the Black in her possession."—The recognisances were accordingly ordered to be respited.

Against this proceeding of the Judge, as against an open contempt of the laws of England, Granville drew up a strong protest, disclaiming the refusal of judgment on the present occasion as a precedent for future ones; but "this protest," he says, "he purposes to reserve for himself, till there be an absolute necessity for disclosing it;" adding, with the complacent spirit which directed him on all occasions, "My indignation is against the practice and opinions which I have mentioned, not against the men who have promoted them; for I wish the amendment, rather than the punishment or shame, of those who do wrong."

CHAP. III.

THE disgusting scenes of perfidy and oppression, which the cases of Strong and Hylas had first brought to view, and the trial of Lewis had again shewn with additional force, were regarded by Mr. Sharp as in the highest degree opprobrious to his country; and, joined to a profound admiration, which his late researches had confirmed, of the constitutional system of English law, conspired to render him keenly alive to every infringement of our national faith and justice.

The name of patriotism has been given to so many various qualities, that it is neither a safe nor an easy task to apply it at present to any; yet we may readily consent to reckon among the feelings of a real patriot, the zealous desire, which the subject of this memoir entertained, of reverencing the character of an Englishman. In his opinion, it was want of truth to asperse it—it was want of religion to sully it. The warmth of his feelings on this point sometimes roused him to take an active interest in concerns very distant from the sphere in which he was so conspicuously moving.

During the period of the trial of Hylas's cause, some occurrences took place in West Florida, which

appeared to him to impeach the military character of our nation in the most essential points, since the persons who had submitted to be the actors in them were soldiers in a British regiment; and he addressed the following letter on the subject to General Conway, at that time Lieutenant-general of his Majesty's Ordnance.—A relation of the events to which it alludes, would be too great a digression from the purpose of these Memoirs; but the sentiments it contains are of general application, and are valuable for their dignity and sincerity.

To the Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, &c. &c.

" Right Hon. Sir, " Sept. 30th, 1768.

" The enclosed account of a very perfidious transaction in West Florida was sent by me, some time ago, to my friend Mr. Wilkinson, your private Secretary, who was desired to communicate the same to you, *if he thought it of sufficient consequence:* for that I entirely relied upon *his* judgment, concerning the propriety of such an information coming from me.

" I have since received a very polite answer from him, encouraging me to lay the affair before you; and, indeed, I could not think of any gentleman so proper as yourself to determine whether or not it may be expedient to inquire farther into the merits of this cause, in order that the authors may be duly censured.

" By your experience in the business of the state, as well as great military knowledge, you are certainly the properest arbiter, when the faith and credit of the English as a people, and the honour of his Majesty's arms, are

at stake; the former having lately been shamefully broken, and the latter basely prostituted in West Florida.

"The political principles of the Governor and Council of West Florida demand your consideration more particularly at this time, because a scheme for extirpating the Indians of some parts of America is talked of (as I am informed), and earnestly recommended as necessary, with plausible reasons for the same.

"But treachery, injustice, and oppression, can never be sound policy, however recommended; and therefore it is much to be wished, that such proposals, if they should really be offered to the ministry, may be rejected with that disdain and contempt of the authors which they justly deserve.

"With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

In proportion as his mind became informed by an investigation of our constitutional rights, Granville found his scene of action continually extending. When his beloved brother James, who was a member of the Common Council, took part in a public concern which affected the liberties of the city, he contributed essentially to assist his cause. In the spring of the year 1771, Brass Crosby, Esq., Lord Mayor of London, had given his warrant to commit a messenger of the House of Commons, who was executing his errand in the City; for which the House, in return, procured the Mayor to be sent to the Tower. Crosby, thus become a champion and martyr in the cause of civic rights, was complimented by the various wards; and amongst them,

the ward of Lime Street, to which Mr. James Sharp belonged, stood foremost, and, at his instance, presented an address replete with sentiments of legal liberty, and distinguished by its legal information and manly sense. Of this composition, with the exception of a short introductory period, it appears from the MS. Notes, that Granville was the author. The address will be found in the Appendix.

In the same year (1771), another circumstance occurred, which contributed greatly to increase the respect already acquired by his character, and is an instance of the elevation of sentiment that distinguished it; since it proves, that, with the kindness of heart which led him to the quick relief of the wretched, was mixed an equal and no less active indignation against wrong, whether offered to the highest and most powerful, or to the lowest and weakest subject of the realm.

When the Duke of Grafton was at the head of the Treasury, in 1768, during Lord Chatham's illness, an attempt was made to diminish the Duke of Portland's influence in Parliamentary elections, by an unexpected reclaim from the Crown of some lands which (in consequence of a grant from King William) had been quietly enjoyed by the Duke's family for more than seventy years, and which were very numerously tenanted. The Duke's resistance of the claim, and the investigation in Parliament of the circumstances regarding it, gave rise to the

Nullum Tempus Act, for quieting the possessions of the subject *.

* The particulars are thus stated in Belsham's History of George III.—

"The Portland family had, in consequence of a grant from King William, possessed for seventy years the honour of Penrith, and its appurtenances, situated in the county of Cumberland. The Forest of Inglewood, and the Manor and Castle of Carlisle, being considered as parts of this grant, were quietly enjoyed by the family for several descents, under the same tenure, though not particularly specified. Sir James Lowther, the son-in-law of Lord Bute, being apprised of this omission, made application to the Crown for a lease of the premises in question; and the Surveyor-General of the Crown Land, though no lawyer, took upon him to decide that these estates were still vested in the Crown. Orders were therefore issued for a new grant to Sir J. Lowther, in which the soccage of Carlisle was rated at 50*l.* per annum, and the forest of Inglewood at 14*s.* 4*d*, though in reality of immense value, and commanding an extensive election influence. When the Board of Treasury met, the Duke of Portland presented a Memorial to the Lords, in which he prayed to be heard in defence of his title. He was informed, that no step would be taken to his prejudice, till an impartial investigation had taken place. Yet, while the Duke's solicitors were searching old surveys and court-rolls, he was informed that the grant was actually completed; and, notwithstanding the caveat entered in the Court of Exchequer, the Chancellor, Lord North, affixed the seal, in pursuance of a positive order from the Lords of the Treasury....A Bill was, on this occasion, in the early part of the year 1768, brought in and patronised by the Opposition, under the name of the *Nullum Tempus* BILL, for quieting the possessions of the subject, and securing them from all obsolete and vexatious claims. The Minister of the Crown proposed the postponement of the Bill to the ensuing Session, which was accordingly carried. At a subsequent time, the Bill was passed into a law, and provided, that the term of sixty years of quiet possession should constitute an irreclaimable right."

At the early part of this business, Mr. Sharp had written several letters to the Duke of Portland, under a feigned signature, which were very favourably received; and as, after the passing of the Act, some efforts were still made to prevent the Duke from availing himself of it, he now thought himself entitled to avow his name, united with an offer of his further services.

To his Grace the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord,

"Two or three years ago, under the signature of *Amicus*, I took the liberty of transmitting to your Grace some references to statutes relating to Crown lands, which I *then* thought absolutely sufficient to secure your Grace's right of continuing in possession of the lands then claimed by the Crown; for I could not conceive that the *Nullum Tempus* doctrine would be allowed any weight in opposition to POSITIVE LAWS, because it is a maxim that *the law general must yield to the law special.* (Noyes's Maxims, p. 10.) However, as I have lately heard that it is now disputed, whether or not your Grace ought to be excluded from the benefit of the late *Nullum Tempus Act* for quieting the possessions of the subject, I have taken the liberty to enclose, for your Grace's perusal, a short tract on the general doctrine of '*Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi.*' How far the same may be applicable to the point in contest between your Grace and the Treasury Board, I cannot pretend to judge, because my information concerning that affair arises merely from common report; so that, of course, I must profess myself a stranger to the particular circumstances of the case.

"Nevertheless, as I happened, in the course of my reading the other day, to light upon a passage in Bracton, which to me seemed capable of affording a clear explanation of the *Nullum Tempus* doctrine, I thought it a duty incumbent on me to send your Grace my thoughts upon it*.

"It may indeed be said, that *Bracton* is in the hands of every lawyer; and that I ought to have known that the learned gentlemen of the law, employed by your Grace, are already apprised of the passage to which I refer, as they must certainly, at some time or other, have read it. Nevertheless, there is sufficient reason for me to presume that they have entirely overlooked it in the present case, and even *the Legislature* also, because the late Act of Parliament (which was made expressly to guard against the *mistaken doctrine of Nullum Tempus*) must otherwise appear *absurd* and *superfluous!* I think it necessary to premise thus much, my Lord, by way of excuse for having presumed to write to your Grace about business which don't in the least concern me, as it might otherwise be deemed impertinence to suppose that your Grace has not already the most learned advice that can be procured.

"If the little tract contains any hints that are thought capable of being enforced to your Grace's advantage, it will give me real pleasure; for, indeed, I have no greater happiness than that of being serviceable (when it lies in my power) to any man whatever, whether friend or stranger. But if, on the contrary, my arguments do not appear sufficiently conclusive to engage your approbation,

* The MS. of the short tract, afterwards published, concerning the doctrine of *Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi;* wherein he examines with great precision the cases in which *the King's rights are alienable,* and those in which they are otherwise.

yet I hope my endeavours will at least have so far entitled me to your Grace's favour, that what I have written may not be exposed to any third person whatever; and that your Grace will be pleased to return both the tract and the letter (sealed up), as soon as you have read them, lest it should by any means be known that I have interfered in a contest of this nature, which probably would give offence, as I am engaged in his Majesty's service; but howsoever such an act may be looked upon by courtiers and placemen in general, yet I am thoroughly conscious that no man can be more zealous for his Majesty's honour and *true interest* than myself.

"With the greatest respect," &c. &c.

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

"Old Jewry, Cheapside, 6th May, 1771."

His motive for a free avowal of this nature, is given in the following extract from a letter of a later date:—

"Although I am a placeman, and indeed of a very inferior rank, yet I look on myself to be perfectly independent, because I have never yet been afraid to do and avow whatever I thought just and right, without the consideration of consequences to myself: for, indeed, I think it unworthy of a *man* to be afraid of the world; and it is a point with me, never to conceal my sentiments on any subject whatever, not even from my superiors in office, *when there is a probability of answering any good purpose by it.*"

These sentiments are also entirely in unison with an expression in a letter to Lord Carysfort in 1781:—

"This is the compendium or sum total of all my politics; so that I include them in a very small compass: I am thoroughly convinced that *right* ought to be adopted and maintained on all occasions, without regard to consequences either probable or possible; for these (when we have done our own duty as honest men) must, after all, be left to the disposal of Divine Providence, which has declared a blessing in favour of Right: 'Blessed are the keepers of judgment, and he that doeth righteousness at all times.' (Psalm cvi. 3.)"

The following was the Duke of Portland's answer.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "London, Tuesday, June 25, 1771.

"I feel myself so much obliged to you for your repeated favours, that I know not what apology to offer for having so long delayed my thanks for them, except the desire of making myself master of the reasonings contained in the little tract upon the doctrine of *Nullum Tempus*. Your having forbad the communication of it to a third person, together with the right you had so to do, made it impossible for me to satisfy myself with a single perusal of it; and as I thought myself equally unauthorised to take notes or make extracts from it, it was necessary for me to read it over and over again, to be enabled to procure those advantages which it was intended to afford. This fair state of the case, and the assurance of its not having been seen by any body but myself, will, I hope, appear a sufficient excuse for my having detained your paper, and deferred my acknowledgments till this time. I have only to repeat my thanks to you for this obliging proof of your good

intentions, and for letting me know who the person was, who so properly adopted the signature of *Amicus*, to whom I am, with great regard, Sir,

"A very much obliged and obedient Servant,

"PORTLAND *."

* "When this great cause came to be argued before the Barons of the Exchequer, the late grant to Sir James Lowther was judged invalid, as contrary to the statute of Queen Anne; and Sir J. L. was accordingly nonsuited, after throwing the whole county into confusion; more than four hundred ejectments, it is affirmed, having been served by his agents, in one day, upon the sub-tenants and occupants of those extensive demesnes."—*Belsham's History of George III.*

CHAP. IV.

FROM the trials of the several Negro causes, and from the turn given by the Judge to the decision of that of Lewis in particular, it was evident, that, although a few separate verdicts had been obtained in favour of African Slaves, their general right to freedom in England was still a question of fluctuating opinion. No security was yet afforded from the apprehensions justly excited by the pertinacious avarice and tyranny of the slave-dealers and slave-holders. Mr. Sharp, indeed, continued steady in his benevolent course, and, by his indefatigable exertions and promptitude of action, several struggling sufferers were added to the list of the rescued*.

* The liberation of three other captives—two of the name of *John Thomas* (one already mentioned in a former note), and one distinguished as *an Indian*—is found in the MS. Notes of this date, as are also several sums of money paid at different times for their support.

The rescue of one slave (perhaps Lewis) is related by Mr. Clarkson with peculiar interest: "The vessel, on board of which a poor African had been dragged and confined, had reached the Downs, and had actually got under weigh for the West Indies. In a few hours it would have been out of sight. Just at this critical moment the writ of Habeas Corpus was carried on board. The officer who served it, saw the miserable captive chained to the main-mast, bathed in tears, and casting

Yet, notwithstanding the successful termination of all these cases, the essential point still remained undecided. The cause had not yet been tried, which was to put to rest the long-agitated question concerning the right of England to embrace within the extent of its constitutional freedom the person of every individual residing in the land, of whatever clime or country he might be. At length, the important case of James Somerset presented itself; —a case which is said to have been selected, at the mutual desire of Lord Mansfield and of Mr. Sharp, in order to bring to a final judgment a subject of contest, which, from the benevolence of the latter, so frequently occupied, and, from his legal researches and abilities, so much embarrassed, the courts of judicature.

The complaint of Somerset was of the same kind as in the case of Thomas Lewis, before related. He had been brought to England, in November 1769, by his master, Mr. Charles Stewart, and in process of time left him. Stewart found an opportunity of seizing him unawares; and he was conveyed on board the Ann and Mary, Captain Knowles, in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there to be sold for a slave.

a last mournful look on the land of freedom, which was just receding from his sight. The captain, on receiving the writ, became outrageous; but knowing the serious consequences of resisting the law of the land, he gave up his prisoner, whom the officer carried safe, but now crying for joy, to the shore."—*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

Of the transactions which took place, the MS. Notes give, as usual, a brief information, and of the most simple kind.

MS. '1772. Jan. 13.—James Somerset, a Negro 'from Virginia, called on me this morning (with the 'compositor whom I employ at Mr. Bigg's) to com-'plain of Mr. Charles Stewart. I gave him the 'best advice that I could.

'Jan. 14.—Mr. Cade, of No. 7, Cumberland 'Street, Drury Lane, called on me in favour of 'James Somerset.

'Jan. 29.—Gave cash, *6l. 6s.* to Mr. Hughes, 'clerk to Mr. Priddle, to retain two counsel in the 'case of Somerset.

'Feb. 7.—Case of the Negro, Somerset, to be 'argued this day in the King's Bench.

'Paid Mr. Blanchard for attending on account of 'James Somerset: on 24th Jan. *1l. 1s.*—Copy of 'proceeding, *16s.*—Transcript of proceeding in 'Hilary term, *5l. 5s.*'

No sooner was the cause undertaken, than we find Mr. Sharp actively employing every measure which he conceived likely to conduce to its prosperous issue. He put into the hands of the counsel engaged on this occasion, the observations which he had written on the case of Lewis, containing a strict investigation of the legal proceedings on that trial. Yet, those observations still appearing to him

more severe than he conceived fit to be publicly made, he prefixed to the copy given to his counsel the following note :—

"*Mem.*—These remarks are merely intended to prevent this trial from being quoted as a precedent, and not to injure the character of the Judge; and therefore, as they are only in the hands of the counsel for James Somerset, the author requests that they may not be mentioned, or shown, to any person not immediately concerned in this cause, unless the same reason should make it *absolutely necessary*. For the severity of the censures herein contained could not be avoided, when facts of such a nature are mentioned; and therefore, as the point in question is a public cause, the author would be extremely sorry that there should be the least appearance of private resentment, by making these remarks more public than is absolutely necessary for the purpose intended."

The leading counsel was Mr. Serjeant Davy, who brought the case into court before Lord Mansfield on the 24th of January, but professed the cause to be of so high importance, that he requested it might be deferred till another term, in order to give him time to prepare fully for its support. This request Lord Mansfield declined granting, and fixed the hearing for that day fortnight; apprizing Serjeant Davy at the same time, that, "if it should come fairly to the general question, *whatever the opinion of the Court might be*, even if they were *all agreed on*

one side or the other, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that, from the nature of the question, he should certainly *take the opinion of all the Judges* upon it."

From this declaration, Mr. Sharp felt that he should have to contend with all the force that could be brought against him. But his resolution was not to be shaken; though his naturally unobtrusive character, and his knowledge of human nature, taught him thenceforward to avoid the appearance of regular attendance in the court, and indeed of any degree of interference whatever in the cause itself, that he might in no wise irritate a Judge whom he conceived to be prepossessed against his attempt.

Fortunately for him in this severe struggle, his exertions on a point of so deep and important an interest had begun not only to awaken the sympathy, but to attract the aid, of men of enlightened minds. It is grateful to remark, that on the present occasion he received the most generous offers of professional assistance.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 25, 1772.

"I am informed by a friend, that yesterday the great question concerning the powers of a master over his Negro Slaves after arrival in this country, was argued in the Court of King's Bench, on the return to a *Habeas Corpus*. The interest which you, from motives of generosity and

humanity, formerly took in a question of this sort, renders it probable that you may be acquainted with the circumstances of the case I have mentioned. If you are, and continue to interest yourself in the question, I shall be very ready to communicate any arguments that occur to me on the subject, with as much pleasure as if I had been retained as one of the counsel in the cause. On a former occasion, I did in a hasty way commit to writing some heads of argument, and sent them to you. They are too loose and inaccurate to bear a critical examination; but I have since thought upon the subject with more precision; and, though I should be sorry to have my former communication made known to any but yourself (and therefore must request you to suppress it), yet I now shall be willing to send you a general idea of the manner in which I think the subject should be treated, expressed with more precision and caution than my former communication."

This letter was from Mr. Francis Hargrave, then rising into reputation, and since well known for his publication of the State Trials; and it is observable, from the tenor of his letter (and still more strongly from the following reply), that, although Granville directed the whole of the prosecution in behalf of Somerset, he did not profess, nor even acknowledge, his concern in it, to any but those who acted immediately with himself.

G. S. to Mr. Hargrave.

"Dear Sir, "Old Jewry, 26th Jan. 1772.

"I think myself greatly obliged to you for your kind offer of communicating to me the arguments which have

occurred to you on the subject of slavery in England. The particular case, in which my brother and myself were parties, is now at an end; so that I am no more concerned at present than every other man is in reality, or at least ought to be, for the general cause of humanity; for I apprehend, that the honour or degradation of human nature greatly depends upon the present question.

"I have enclosed a little Appendix to my former treatise on this subject, which I printed last week, in order to send to the Judges previous to the question on Friday last: though, indeed, having been written on account of a former case, tried last year in the King's Bench, it will not perhaps be understood, except by Lord Mansfield himself and those who knew the merits of that case: for I have given no names, but only hinted at facts as if they were mere *suppositions* drawn up for argument's-sake. This method I chose, because I have no dislike to the person of any man, but merely to the actions or opinions of men, where I conceive them to be wrong, and which I can more freely censure than the authors of them, without fear of occasioning any personal injury.

"The case I referred to was the King and Thomas Lewis (a Negro) against Stapylton and others. The Jury brought their verdict, That the Negro was no property, and that the defendants were guilty of the indictment. This verdict Lord Mansfield himself approved three times expressly, and yet afterwards refused to give judgment, on account of *a doubt in his mind**. I have, however, the satisfaction to find, by the minutes of what passed on last Friday, that Lord Mansfield then expressed himself more cautiously upon the point than formerly, and that he even

* A farther account of this circumstance is found in a letter from G. S. to Sir J. Banks, February 20, 1772.

went so far as to drop some hints of favourable wishes for the cause of the Negro.

"If his Lordship should ingenuously give up his former opinion, I shall most readily forgive him what is past; nay, I shall honour him for being so open to conviction. Nevertheless, I apprehend that arguments from any other hand than mine will be more acceptable, and, consequently, more efficacious at present; and therefore I can only thank you again sincerely for your obliging offer of communication; but at the same time, let me privately request you to make known your arguments (which I am sure, from what I have already seen, will be much to the purpose) either to the Court of King's Bench, or to your brethren, the professors of law in general,—or in whatever manner you think they will have most success.

"The bearer, James Somerset, is the unfortunate Negro whose cause is now before the Court; and in whatever manner you can best serve him, either as one of his counsel, to assist Serjeant Davy, or as his advocate in print (I mean in respect to the *general question*), you will certainly do a great act of private charity, as well as a public good. The hint, which I have already given you about Lord Mansfield's behaviour on Friday, will convince you, that arguments on this point cannot be produced at a more critical or more favourable time than the present.

"Enclosed, I send you the opinion of Lord Chief Justice De Grey, which he would not permit me to print, because it was given on a private case; but he acknowledged it to be his opinion, and that he was then (1769) of the same opinion*. If you desire the notes of what passed on Friday, I shall most willingly communicate them

* Namely, That there could be no property in the person of a Slave by the laws of this country.

as soon as I receive my fair copy; and also some other proceedings, if agreeable to you, on similar cases, which I had caused to be taken in short-hand from the mouths of the pleaders.

"Dear Sir, with great esteem," &c. &c.

Mr. Hargrave's conduct had demonstrated that he was likely to prove too able an assistant not to be engaged with his utmost force in the cause, and his name was soon added to the list of the counsel. —The modest zeal of a professional man is expressed in the following reply.

"Dear Sir, January 31, 1772.

"This morning I received a retainer in the case of Somerset, the Negro; and you may be assured, that no application shall be wanting on my part to conduce to that great end which you have in view. I have long formed my opinion upon the subject, and am thoroughly convinced that the state of slavery in which a Negro may be before his arrival in England gives no title whatever to service *here*, either on the ground of property or on presumption of a contract. This opinion I shall be zealous to support; but, never having yet argued any thing publicly, I distrust my abilities to acquit myself as such a cause requires. On that account, my situation will be painful; though I hope, that the expectation of that indulgence of the Court usually given to persons under my circumstances, and the assurance that others who shall hear me will make the due allowance, will so far operate on my mind as to give me the opportunity of urging all the arguments which shall occur to me.

"I am, Sir," &c. &c.

"Granville Sharp, Esq." "FRANCIS HARGRAVE."

As the day for the hearing of the cause drew near, Mr. Sharp's vigilance and anxiety increased.

G. S. to Mr. Hargrave.

" Dear Sir, " Old Jewry, Feb. 6, 1772.

" I was exceedingly disappointed, when I was informed last night, that Mr. Priddle had not yet sent you a brief, nor to any of the other gentlemen. His clerk promised that copies of the affidavits and writ of Habeas Corpus should be sent to all the counsel punctually on Monday morning last. I saw Priddle himself on Tuesday, when he promised that briefs should be sent without fail the next morning. To what his behaviour is to be attributed I don't know, but I make no doubt but that you and the other gentlemen will be sufficiently aware to prevent his negligence (whether wilful or otherwise) from injuring the poor man's cause.

" With great esteem," &c. &c.

On the 7th of February the case was again brought before Lord Mansfield, assisted by the three Justices, Ashton, Willes, and Ashurst.

The cause of liberty was now no longer to be tried on the ground of a mere special indictment, but on the broad principle of the essential and constitutional right of every man in England to the liberty of his person, unless forfeited by the *laws* of England. It was opened by Mr. Serjeant Davy, with a vast mass of information on the subject of slavery, prefaced by a declaration of his intention to maintain before the Court the following proposition;

"That no man at this day *is*, or *can be*, a Slave in England *."

The *first* part of this proposition he established by the most substantial documents drawn from the history of our country, in which he examined the progressive state and extinction of *villenage;* and on the *second*, he took the ground of Mr. Sharp's argument, contending, "that all the people who come into this country immediately become subject to the laws of this country, are governed by the laws, regulated entirely in their whole conduct by the laws, and are entitled to the protection of the laws of this country, and become the King's subjects."

He then proceeded to notice the particular object before the Court; viz. the pretensions of Stewart to a property in his Slave, according to the laws of Virginia. His reasoning on this point was unanswerable: "Either this man (Somerset) remains, upon his arrival in England, in the condition he was in abroad, in Virginia, or not. If he does so remain, the master's power remains as before. If the laws, having attached upon him abroad, are

* Some few passages only are here selected from the speeches delivered by the different Counsel, and, in particular, those points which appear, from the sequel, to have most influenced the minds of the Judges. The whole Minutes of the Trial, in MS., are preserved in the African Institution.——*N. B.* Whatever extracts are here given, are printed *verbatim* from the copy of the short-hand writer.

at all to affect him here, *it brings them all:* either *all* the laws of Virginia are to attach upon him here, or *none*,—for where will they draw the line?"

This distinction between England and its colonies he pressed with great force:—"With regard to the laws of Virginia, do they bind here? Have the laws of Virginia any more influence, power, or authority in this country, than the laws of Japan? The King makes laws for Virginia alone, if he pleases. If he has thought proper to introduce a particular form of making laws in that country, or the Assembly makes them under the power of the Crown—as he might have granted such a charter, or any other—*that* refers to Virginia alone. He cannot make laws *here* without the consent and authority of the two Houses of Parliament. Suppose, instead of this man's coming from Africa, he had come from Turkey—Now, suppose a Christian slave brought from Turkey here—or suppose a bashaw come into this country with half a score Circassian women slaves for his amusement—suppose they should, in this case, think proper to say to this bashaw, 'Sir, we will no longer be the subjects of your lust;' I believe he would make but a miserable figure at the bar of the Old Bailey, on an indictment for a rape."

He then discussed the argument of inconvenience, arising from either side of the question; and concluded by stating the authorities of various cases, in

which it had been decided that no man could here be the property of another*.

Mr. Serjeant Glynn followed on the same side, and enforced very powerfully the arguments proposed by the leading Counsel, particularly in the point respecting the importation of laws of other countries into our own:

"Let me put," he said, "the case seriously. What is the point in which you are to draw the line? If you admit a right acquired in prejudice of liberty, (the claim a man derives from common nature); if you permit them to raise up and bring here the laws of one country, I don't know but we must go round the globe, to find all their laws. Suppose galley-slaves were brought here,—would the master be allowed to exercise that power over them? Should they, when they set their foot on English ground, be allowed that authority, which in other countries, where servitude is in its full extent,

* The following expressions also occurred in the course of his pleadings:—"This was in the case of Cartwright, who brought a slave from Russia, and would scourge him; for this he was questioned, and it was resolved, That England *was too pure an air for Slaves to breathe in. (See Rushworth's Collections,* p. 468.) That was in the 11th of Queen Elizabeth. I hope, my Lord, the air does not blow worse since. But, unless there is a change of air, I hope they will never breathe here; for that is my assertion,—the moment they put their foot on English ground, that moment they become free. They are subject to the laws, and they are entitled to the protection of the laws of this country, and so are their masters, thank God!"

is allowed; where the slave is in the most wretched state, and absolutely at the mercy of his master? Suppose they were to bring their slaves into England, would the courts permit the exercise of that power over them?"

At the conclusion of Mr. Serjeant Glynn's speech, Lord Mansfield, after some short questions, added: "This thing seems, by the arguments, probable to go to a great length, and it is the end of the term; so it will be hardly possible to go through it without stopping: therefore, let it stand over to the next term."

This respite gave room for fresh preparations. In the interval, Mr. Sharp, already extending his view beyond the object of the actual moment, sought anxiously such means as might tend to give permanency to the effect of the impending decision, which he considered as unavoidably about to be pronounced in his favour. Nor, consistently with the general strength of his mental character, were the measures, which he adopted, of any common magnitude. On the 18th of February, some days after the first hearing in the Court of King's Bench, he wrote a letter to Lord North, addressing to him arguments which, now that the infatuation of prejudice is passed away, will appear to every one to bear their full weight in the scale of reason; at the same time, enforcing them with that warmth, with which a sound and virtuous mind, prompted by an ardent sense of duty, will never fail to characterise its

reasonings on every topic of great interest. A copy of this letter, among his MS. papers, is thus described:—

"Copy of a Letter, dated 18th Feb. 1772, to the Right Honourable Lord North, requesting his endeavours to put a stop to the monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness occasioned by slave-holding; also stating the due distinctions necessary to be made in the different modes of *abolishing* it at home and abroad."

To the Right Honourable Lord North, &c. &c.

"My Lord,

"Presuming that information, concerning *every question of a public nature*, must of course be agreeable to your Lordship, considering your present high office, I have ventured (and hope without offence) to lay before you a little tract against tolerating slavery in England; because the subject (being at present before the Judges) is now become a public topic; and admitting of it, or otherwise, is certainly a point of considerable consequence to this kingdom.

"His Majesty has been pleased lately to recommend to Parliament 'the *providing new laws* for *supplying defects or remedying abuses in such instances where it shall be requisite*;' and I apprehend, my Lord, that there is no instance whatever which requires more *immediate redress* than the present miserable and *deplorable slavery of* Negroes and Indians, as well as white English servants, in our colonies. I say immediate redress, because, *to be in power*, and to neglect (as life is very uncertain) even a

day in endeavouring to put a stop to such monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness, must necessarily endanger a man's *eternal* welfare, be he ever so great in *temporal* dignity or office.

"Nevertheless, I don't mention this as a subject proper for Parliamentary consideration; for the laws of England (God be thanked) are sufficiently clear with respect to *slavery in this island:* and though some enormous outrages have now and then been committed by *ignorant masters,* in attempting to carry off by force their quondam slaves, yet, *if the Judges do their duty, by determining according to the laws already in force* (for, Judicandum est Legibus, non exemplis, 4 Ca. 33), there will be no necessity for the Parliament to interfere.

"And with respect to the Colonies, the pernicious practice of *slave-holding,* being tolerated by *distinct laws of their own,* cannot, with propriety, fall under the consideration of the British Parliament; for I am well aware, that no Parliament can have a just right to enact laws for places which it does not *represent.* The remedy of these notorious abuses, therefore, *rests entirely with the King and his Privy Council,* to recommend to the several Assemblies a formal repeal of those unjust laws of which I complain *.

"For this reason I have ventured to address myself to

* The following additional passage is in another copy:—

"I might allege, indeed, that many of the plantation laws (like every act that contains any thing which is *malum in se)* are already *null and void* in themselves, because they want every necessary foundation to render them *valid,* being absolutely contradictory to the laws of reason and natural equity, as well as to the laws *of God;* yet as many of them (to the disgrace of the English name) have been long in force, and have

your Lordship, as his Majesty's First Minister; and beg leave to request your perusal of two or three pages only in my book, where I have placed a paper of reference, because I cannot suppose that your Lordship will be able to find leisure for the perusal of the whole*.

had the *formal assent* of Kings, they will require a *formal repeal* by all the parties, in order to preserve, in each branch of the legislature, that reciprocal faith which is due to all solemn compacts."

* The passages referred to are thus noticed in the MS. Notes:—

"February 18, 1772.—Wrote to Lord North (the premier), with my tract against tolerating slavery in England, and a paper of references to a law of Barbadoes, whereby a man may wantonly or bloody-mindedly, or with cruel intention, kill his Negro servant, and be liable to no penalty, except 15*l.* to be paid into the public treasury. This, and some other such laws, I marked with red ink, as also my observations on them, that 'this was the most consummate form of wickedness of which a legislature was ever guilty;' and also (in page 72), that 'if such laws are not absolutely necessary for the government of slaves, the law-makers must unavoidably allow themselves to be the most cruel and abandoned tyrants upon earth, and, perhaps, that *ever were* on earth: but, on the other hand, if it be said that it is impossible to govern slaves without such inhuman severity and detestable injustice, the same is an invincible argument against the least toleration of slavery among Christians, because temporal profits cannot compensate the forfeiture of everlasting welfare;'—that 'the cries of these much-injured people will certainly reach to Heaven;'—that 'the Scriptures denounce a tremendous judgment against the man who shall offend *one little one*;'—that 'it were better for the nation that their American dominions had never existed, or even that they had sunk in the sea, than that the kingdom of Great Britain should be loaded with the horrid guilt of tolerating such abominable wickedness,'" &c. &c.

"I have also sent another book, on the same subject, lately printed at Philadelphia, which, amongst other things worthy notice, contains some sensible propositions for *abolishing Slavery in the Colonies.* (See pages 138 and 141.) And that your Lordship may see the *absolute necessity* of such a measure, I have likewise sent a short, lively representation in MS. of the present state of Slavery in Maryland, extracted from a letter (dated in November last) from a Gentleman in that province*.

"With great deference and respect," &c. &c.

"Old Jewry, Feb. 18, 1772."

Another feature of Mr. Sharp's character was here disclosed—if indeed some signs of it had not before appeared—that calm but fearless spirit, which was so highly exemplified in the conduct of the Archbishop throughout his life, and had been fully transmitted to his grandson. Dependent on the Government for the situation from which he derived his maintenance, he nevertheless presented his remonstrance to the First Minister without restraint, and without distrust.

In consequence of the virtuous conduct which he was now determinately pursuing, he had a second time experienced the gratification of finding that he had awakened a desire of sharing his labours, in the breast of a man with whom an union could not fail to be acceptable. This was Dr. Fothergill, whose name has already appeared in these Memoirs.

* This is printed among Mr. Sharp's smaller Tracts.

Although in their correspondence they had differed essentially on topics of religious interest, and although both spoke and maintained their sentiments with the most deliberate openness, yet such was the equal candour of minds alike devoted to the practice of real Christianity, that an entire variance of religious opinions had no influence whatever in restraining their most cordial co-operation in acts of mercy.

While the pleadings on the important question of Somerset's cause were yet in expectation, Dr. Fothergill received from America an abridgment of the tract "on the Injustice of Slavery," together with other matter, by an author with whom the reader will shortly become acquainted. He immediately sent the work to Mr. Sharp, who returned the following answer.

To Dr. Fothergill.

"My fellow-labourer, Mr. Benezet, has very judiciously extracted the very marrow of my book. The other extracts (from Mr. Wallis, Dr. Foster, &c.) are so concise, and yet so full and unanswerable, especially on some points where our lawyers stick, that I wish, if it were possible, to procure copies for *three* (if not twelve) *judges*, and for *four counsel*. I would reprint them, if there was time for it; but as next Friday is the day of hearing, it is impossible, because the Counsel ought to have the copies a day or two before. I would make an apology for my request, was I not well assured that both Mr. Benezet and yourself will esteem the occasion for which the copies are wanted as much your own affair as mine.

"The bearer, James Somerset, is the Negro whose cause comes on next Friday, and who will be the proper person to present to his Counsel what copies you may be able to procure.

"With sincere esteem," &c. &c.

A short note from Mr. Sharp, on the day after the first hearing, shews the result of this application:—

"8th February, 1772.

"G. S. returns Dr. Fothergill many thanks for the books, which he distributed to the Counsel, and sent one by the Negro to Lord Mansfield.

"G. S. will take the liberty of sending the minutes of what passed, for the Doctor's perusal, as soon as he receives the copy from his short-hand writer. There are two or three more Counsel yet to speak on the Negro's side, before the opponents begin."

In the interval that ensued between the first and second hearing of the cause, a new and unexpected assistance was offered to these fellow-labourers in the work of mercy: Benezet's publication was gratuitously reprinted in England, by a person who delighted more in doing good than in courting applause.

G. S. to Dr. Fothergill.

"Sir, "April 18, 1772.

"I send you a copy of the pleadings last term in behalf of James Somerset.

"I have great satisfaction in finding that Mr. Benezet's book (of which you favoured me with so many copies) is now republished. Who the Editor is, I don't know*; but am persuaded that his motives for the republication at this time were humanity and charity. The copies which you were so obliging to send me, were given to the four Counsel for James Somerset, and to Lord Mansfield; and if I was sure that the Editor has not sent copies to the other Judges, I would have some bound neatly for that purpose immediately. The 7th of next month is fixed for the continuance of the argument.

"With respect and esteem," &c. &c.

Dr. Fothergill, in reply.

"Respected Friend,

"I have perused the arguments of Counsel on Somerset's affair with satisfaction, and wish the event may be favourable to public liberty.

"As many and great expenses must have attended this controversy, I shall be very ready to contribute my mite towards them; and when the affair is terminated, go which way it may, I shall be pleased with an opportunity of conferring on this matter, and doing every thing in my power to lessen the difficulties of the burthen by dividing it.

"Thy respectful Friend,

"Harpur Street, 2d inst." "JOHN FOTHERGILL."

It may be seen from the MS. Notes, that Mr. Sharp, although he did not (as before) attend the

* The name of this benevolent man will appear in the next chapter.

trial of Somerset in person, yet furnished the expenses of it; but whether Dr. Fothergill's liberal offer of participating in them was accepted, is not any where ascertained.

One expense, however, it was not permitted to either of these benevolent men to take on himself. Mr. S. relates, in a letter to his friend Benezet (which will afterwards appear), that "the four eminent Counsel," whom he first retained, "declined accepting any recompence for their professional exertions;" and there can be no doubt of an equal disinterestedness on the part of Mr. Hargrave, who made a voluntary offer of his services*. They felt too strongly the virtuous patriotism of the man by whom they were called to this great cause, to allow of pecuniary remuneration from him: they listened attentively to his suggestions, and imparted gratuitously the aid of their talents and learning.

The letter addressed to Lord North, is not known to have produced any particular notice from the person to whose feelings it appealed. The cause of Somerset, however, proceeded. On the 9th of May, the question was again brought before the Court, on the broad and general ground, "*Whether a Slave, by coming into England, becomes free?*"

On this second hearing, the pleadings in favour of Somerset were resumed by Mr. Mansfield, who, in a

* I have since discovered a letter from Mr. Hargrave to G. S., declining any remuneration.

speech of strong sense and expression, contended, that if the Negro Somerset was a *man*—and he should conclude him one till the Court should adjudge otherwise—it was impossible he could be a slave in England, unless by the introduction of some species of property unknown to our Constitution. He considered the dispute as between one human creature, the Master, and another, the Negro, *whether the latter should be entitled to the important rights which nature had given him.* He was stated by the Master to have been a slave in *America;* but how did that prove him a slave in *England,* where no such condition of men exists? "From all that can be drawn from the state of Africa or America" (said the Orator), "the Negro may very well answer—'It is true, I was a slave; kept as a slave, in Africa. 'I was first put in chains on board a British ship, 'and carried from Africa to America: I there lived 'under a master, from whose tyranny I could not 'escape: if I had attempted it, I should have been 'exposed to the severest punishment: and never, 'from the first moment of my life to the present time, 'have I been in a country where I had a power to 'assert the common rights of mankind. I am now in 'a country where the laws of liberty are known and 'regarded; and can you tell me the reason why I am 'not to be protected by those laws, but to be carried 'away again to be sold?'—To hear a Negro state that argument" (he continued), "and have it answered, *consistently with our laws,* seems to me to

be impossible; for, on the contrary, he is as fully and clearly entitled to the protection of those laws, as every one who now hears me." — After a learned investigation of the laws of other countries, he concluded by expressing his conviction that the alteration which had been attempted in the laws of England, by the introduction of a new species of slavery, was so prodigious and important, and would require so many and various regulations, that it would be far beyond the extent of any power that could legally exercise it, except the legislature itself. "But I hope," he added, "such a kind of slavery will never find its way into England; and I apprehend, that, by your Lordship's decision, this man will receive his liberty."

At the end of Mr. Mansfield's speech, it appears that the cause was further adjourned to the 14th of May.

Mr. Hargrave then followed, and stated, that the claim of Stewart, agreeably to his return to the Habeas Corpus, was founded on the condition of slavery in which Somerset stood before he was brought into England: "and if that right," he said, "is here recognised, domestic slavery, with its horrid train of evils, may be lawfully imported into this country, at the discretion of every individual, foreigner or native. It will come, not only from our own colonies, but from those of the other European nations; from Poland, Russia, Spain, and Turkey; from the Coast of Barbary, from the Western and

Eastern Coasts of Africa, from every part of the world where it still continues to torment and dishonour the human species."—He then entered into an investigation—1st, of the right claimed by Stewart in the person of the Negro; and, 2dly, of the authority by which he assumed a power of exercising that right. In this examination he took a view of the history, the condition, and the consequences of slavery; asserting, that, "in whatever light we view it, it may be deemed a most pernicious institution, *immediately* to the person who suffers it; *finally* to the master who triumphs in it, and to the state which allows it."—Having traced its origin and its decline in Europe, he continued: "Such was the expiring state of domestic slavery in Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the discovery of America, and of the Western and Eastern Coasts of Africa, gave occasion to the introduction of a new species of slavery. It took its rise from the Portuguese, who, in order to supply the Spaniards with persons able to sustain the fatigue of cultivating their new possessions in America, particularly the islands, opened a trade between Africa and America for the sale of Negro slaves. This disgraceful commerce in the human species is said to have begun in the year 1508, when the first importation of Negro slaves was made into Hispaniola, from the Portuguese settlements on the Western Coast of Africa. In 1540, the Emperor,

Charles the Fifth, endeavoured to stop the progress of the Negro slavery, by an order that all slaves in the American isles should be made free; and they were accordingly manumitted by Legasca, the governor of the country, on condition of continuing to labour for their masters. But this attempt proved unsuccessful; and on Legasca's return to Spain, domestic slavery revived and flourished as before. The expedient of having slaves for labour in America, was not long peculiar to the Spaniards, being afterwards adopted by the other Europeans, in proportion as they acquired possessions on that continent. In consequence of this general practice, Negroes are become a very considerable article in the commerce between Africa and America; and domestic slavery has taken so deep a root in all the American colonies as to afford little probability of its total suppression." He then proceeded to examine the attempt to obtrude this new species of slavery into England, and to demonstrate that the Legislature of England had not been so short-sighted as not to have set up a sufficient guard against its introduction. He here examined the ancient laws of villenage in England, the only form in which any state approaching to slavery had ever existed there; and demonstrated, that, villenage having gradually expired in England, the introduction of a new slavery, under the name of villenage, or any other description whatever, is sufficiently provided against." [*The*

remainder of this speech is wanting in the short-hand copy *.]

Mr. Alleyne closed the proceedings on the same side. He examined the necessary distinction between *natural* rights and *municipal* rights; the one of which attaches to men in whatsoever country—the other ceases as soon as men leave the country where they were bound to observe them. The right of slavery, not being from nature, could not, of course, be brought from another country. "*Natural* relations are inherent in the *state of things*, and no human power can restrain it. It necessarily arises from the relation a man bears to mankind in general, and his moral duty is inferred from it. He cannot therefore change his natural relations; they are universal. *Municipal* relations are such as are formed from his being a member of this or that particular country, where they attach. It appears, that by the laws of Virginia this man is a slave; but I submit that the laws of Virginia extend to Virginia alone. In this country, how does this man stand as a slave, where the meanest have a title to enjoy the rights of freedom? This man is *here:* he owes submission to the laws of England, and he claims the protection of those laws; and as he ceases to be a citizen of Virginia, and stands in no such relation *now* to Mr. Stewart, so he is certainly not bound to him;

* The reader may supply the deficiency by referring to Mr. Hargrave's speech on this occasion, as printed at length in his Collection of the State Trials, vol. xi.

and therefore he stands, like any other man in this kingdom, entitled to his freedom."— He concluded by submitting, from the conviction of his mind after an elaborate research, that a claim of slavery cannot be supported in England; "and when," he added, "the judgment of this Court is given, Stewart, as well as the rest of the slave-holders, will know, that when they introduce a slave into this country, *as a slave*, this air is too free for him to breathe in."

The pleadings for the Negro were here closed.

Mr. Wallace appeared on the side of Stewart, whose claims he defended with great ability, demonstrating his quiet and legal right to the slave by the laws of Virginia, and arguing forcibly the inconvenience, absurdity, and injustice of divesting a man of his rightful property, only because he sailed, in pursuit of his lawful business, from one country to another.

Mr. Dunning was the other counsel on the same side. The choice made of this gentleman appeared singular to those who remembered the energy, with which, in a former cause, he had professed himself ready to assert, in any Court of England, that *no property could here exist in a slave.* He was about to begin, when Lord Mansfield observed, that it was now late in the day; and, the Court wishing to rise, he proposed to Mr. D. a farther adjournment to that day se'ennight. He at the same time stated his opinion of the point on which the question hinged, in the following manner.—

"There was a topic suggested by Mr. Alleyne, I thought very material for the consideration of the Court; and that is, whether the law of a *foreign* country is or is not to be adopted in *this*. Supposing slavery (as undoubtedly we must take it) to be law in America, and *that* law stands on a foundation sufficient to support it, and that now there is no system of law in England with regard to it,—the question is, whether the foreign law is to be adopted; and if it is, the law of America stands on the same ground as any other country. There are several countries where slavery is like our *villeyn regardant*. I am not master of the subject enough to say for certain; but I apprehend that in Russia and Poland there are vast numbers *regardant*. If a Pole should come here with one of those slaves; whether, in any question between them, they should or not adopt the law of their own country, arising from the relation in which they stood to each other in that country,—*that*, I think, is very well worth considering; because the conclusion may follow, If the law ought to be adopted in the relation in which they stood to one another before they came here, to be sure that was *master and slave;* but if that law is not to be adopted here, then the other consequence will follow, because there is no other means of introducing it."

He then adverted to the distinction which Mr. Alleyne had made between local and natural relations, "which," he repeated, "I think very material."

Mr. Dunning having expressed his desire of acceding to the proposed adjournment, Lord Mansfield added, "If the merchants think the question of great consequence to trade and commerce, and the public should think so too, they had better think of an application to those that will make a law. We must *find* the law: we cannot make it."

On the 21st, Mr. Dunning spoke on the side of Stewart with his usual ability, pleading his professional duty as superseding all opinion on either side *. He insisted on the danger and inexpediency of freeing the numerous Negroes in England, and on the unchangeable relation of master and servant, which, as being for the universal interests of society, must subsist alike every where. On this point he laid the whole stress of his argument. Mr. Davy's reply closed the pleadings.

Lord Mansfield abstained from giving judgment on the same day: it may justly be doubted whether he

* Mr. Sharp's sentiments on this point will probably have little weight with lawyers; but they should not be withheld from the reader. After noticing the passage in the trial of Stapylton, in which Mr. Dunning made the remarkable assertion before mentioned (page 81-2), he says; "and yet, after so solemn a declaration, he (Mr. Dunning) appeared on the opposite side of the question (against James Somerset) the very next year! This is an abominable and insufferable practice in lawyers, to undertake causes diametrically opposite to their own declared opinions of law and common justice."—Mr. Dunning's professional apostacy was, in this instance at least, harmless; for he was unable to maintain his ground, and his arguments were overthrown by Mr. Davy's reply.

did not still feel some degree of reluctance to decide on the *general question.* It is certain, that he twice threw out a suggestion, that "the master might put an end to the present litigation by manumitting the slave." But it is of no small importance to the invaluable cause of freedom, which was then agitating, to observe the change that had been gradually wrought in the mind of so enlightened a lawyer. The arguments used by the Counsel, *might* be *professional* only: Lord Mansfield's reflections had no bias. The influence of arguments founded on truth had been felt, and his conviction was thus expressed by himself:

"I did think, in the beginning, to have put this afterwards in a more solemn way for argument before the Court; but I think I should do an injustice to the parties, and an injury to the several Courts of Westminster Hall, to have it litigated, in case we should have no difference on the point.

"It has been extremely well argued, and so fully argued, that I think there cannot possibly be raised a new light upon it. I am very glad to see young gentlemen rise at the bar, who are capable of reading so much to advantage*. We are *glad of the information given at the bar.* It has thrown a great light upon the question; and when it comes to be

* Lord Mansfield probably alluded to Mr. Alleyne and Mr. Hargrave, who were then young men, and very earnest in the cause.

determined, the rule for deciding will lie in a very narrow compass. We know every thing, and it will not stand on a large field."

It appears, from several observations of the different Counsel, that the Court had been crowded to excess during the whole of the pleadings. Many persons attended from natural concern in the cause of humanity,—and these appear to have been the largest part of the assembly. "It is my misfortune." said Mr. Dunning, "to address an audience, much the greater part of which, I apprehend, wish to find me in the wrong." Others attended from curiosity, and some from motives of self-interest; for a question, put by Lord Mansfield to Mr. Wallace, brought a disclosure, that Stewart was backed, and his expenses supported, by the West-India merchants in general.

The expectation of all parties was now raised to the utmost pitch, when finally, in Trinity term, on Monday the 22d of June, "the Court proceeded to give judgment in *the case of Somerset the Negro, then before the Court, on the motion of the Habeas Corpus.*"

Lord Mansfield first stated the return; then spoke to the following purport:—"We pay due attention to the opinion of Sir Philip Yorke and Mr. Talbot, taken in the year 1729, whereby they pledge themselves to the West-India planters for the legal consequences of slaves coming here, or being baptized. This opinion was solemnly recognized by Lord

Hardwicke, sitting as chancellor, June 9, 1749, to this effect: 'That there had been a prevailing opinion in the Colonies, that baptism was an emancipation of a Negro slave, and that, in consequence of coming here, such slave became free; but he was satisfied there was no ground for the opinion; and he and Lord Talbot had so expressed themselves, upon a case referred to them for their opinions, when Attorney General and Solicitor General. They had given it all the consideration that the subject could require; and he was satisfied that neither baptism nor coming to England made any alteration in the temporal state of the slave;—that the Statute of the 12th of Charles II. ch. 24, had abolished *villeins regardant;* but if a man was solemnly to confess himself a *villein in gross*, he knew of no law which could possibly prevent the operation of such confession.' We have likewise paid due regard to the many arguments urged at the bar, of inconvenience; but, we are all so clearly of one opinion upon the question before us, that *there is no necessity to refer it to the twelve Judges.* The question is, Whether the captain has returned a sufficient cause for the detainer of Somerset. The cause returned is, that he had kept him by order of his master, with an intent to send him abroad to Jamaica, there to be sold. So high an act of dominion must derive its force from the law of the country: and if to be justified here, must be justified by the laws of England. Slavery has been different in different ages and states. The exercise of

the power of a master over his slave, must be supported by the laws of particular countries; but no foreigner can in England claim a right over a man; such a claim is not known to the laws of England.

"Immemorial usage preserves a positive law, after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it has been forgotten; and, *tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law.* Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged*."

* "In this manner," to use the words of Mr. Clarkson, "that the true will and intention of the laws of England on the important question might be the more solemnly ascertained, the cause was fully and deliberately argued" at four several sittings of the Court, (Feb. 7, May 9, 14, 21); and so clearly were the Negro's rights demonstrated by the abilities of the counsel, that, although Lord Mansfield had declared, at the commencement of the trial, that, '*whatever might be the opinion of the Court*, he should think it requisite, from the general and extensive interest of the subject, to take the opinion of *all the Judges* upon it;' yet, in passing sentence, he declined that reference, and gave his decision without a remaining doubt.

Among Mr. Sharp's papers are the following "Remarks on the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench, in the Case of Stewart and Somerset, by G. S."

"The conclusion of Lord Mansfield's speech contains substantial and unanswerable reasons for the judgment he was about to give. He expressed, in two short sentences, that the master's claim was contrary to three powerful foundations of the English law; viz. *Nature*, *Use*, or *Custom*, and the *Written Law*; which last includes two other foundations, viz. *Maxims* or *Statutes*. With respect to the first, he said, 'Tracing the

The ever-memorable result of this trial is thus noticed by Mr. Sharp:

MS. 'June 22d.—This day, James Somerset 'came to tell me that judgment was to-day given in 'his favour.

'Somerset was the last Negro whom G. S. brought 'before Lord Mansfield by writ of Habeas Corpus; 'when his Lordship declared, as the opinion of all 'the Judges present, that the power claimed by the 'master "never was in use here, nor acknowledged 'by the law; and, therefore, the man, James Somer-'set, must be discharged." Thus ended G. Sharp's 'long contest with Lord Mansfield, on the 22d of 'June, 1772*.'

subject to *natural* principles, the claims of slavery never can be supported.' With respect to the second, that 'the power claimed never was in use here;' and thirdly, 'that it was never acknowledged by the law.'

"These seem, then, to have been the reasons of the determination; and, consequently, the Court was obliged, by the common law, to discharge the man: so that the true meaning of the determination is rendered clear and incontrovertible, as well by the effects of it as by the unanswerable reasons adduced."

* We may learn to appreciate, in some measure, our obligations to Mr. Sharp for this arduous *contest*, from a consideration of the following singular circumstance. It appears, that, in the beginning of his researches in the cause of English personal freedom, he had found and noted the following passage in Blackstone's Commentaries:—

"And this spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our constitution, and rooted even in our very soil, that a Slave, or

The judgment thus pronounced by Lord Mansfield has established the following axiom, as proposed by Mr. Serjeant Davy:—

AS SOON AS ANY SLAVE SETS HIS FOOT ON ENGLISH GROUND, HE BECOMES FREE.

—A sentence to be engraved for ever on our hearts.

The part taken by Mr. Sharp in the conduct of this cause, and the tribute of praise thence due to

a Negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and, with regard to all national rights, becomes *eo instanti* a freeman." — *Commentaries*, Book I., p. 123.

[27

This passage being quoted on the trial in the cause of one of the Negroes, (I believe, Hylas), was triumphantly repelled by the opposite Counsel, who produced in court the volume of Blackstone from which the quotation was made, but in which no such unqualified assertion was to be found. In that volume the passage referred to stood thus: "A Negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman; though the master's right to his service may *possibly* still continue." This circumstance amazed, though it did not daunt, the steady mind which had directed the proceedings. Mr. Sharp returned to his books; and finding that the quotation was correctly taken from *his* edition of the Commentaries, which happened to be the *first*, he began to suspect that some change had been introduced into later editions. On examination, it appeared that Dr. Blackstone had, himself, during the process of these trials, corrected the passage in the manner stated in court (in which I find it also in the fifth edition, 1773.) The inconsistency of this doubtful conclusion on so important a point of English law, is properly noticed by the Editor of the last edition of his Commentaries.

Thus, had it not been for the perseverance of Mr. Sharp in

him, have been so eloquently expressed in the "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," that it would be wronging both the historian and his subject to state the conclusion in any other words than his own.—

"Thus ended the great cause of Somerset. The eloquence displayed in it, by those who were engaged on the side of liberty, was perhaps never exceeded on any occasion; and the names of the Counsellors, Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne, ought always to be remembered with gratitude by the friends of this great cause. For when we consider in how many crowded courts they pleaded, and the number of individuals in these, whose minds they enlightened, and whose hearts they interested in the subject, they are certainly to be put down as no small instruments in the promotion of it. But chiefly to *him*, under Divine Providence, are we to give the praise, who became the first great actor in it; who devoted his time, his talents, and his substance to this Christian undertaking; and by whose laborious researches the very pleaders themselves were instructed and benefited. By means of his

bringing the question to a final issue, our law, as far as it could be influenced by an opinion of one of the best writers on it, would have left in doubt whether the Constitution of England did or did not secure the personal liberty of all her subjects! The glorious decision of the point by Lord Mansfield is wholly owing to Mr. Sharp's firm, resolute, and intrepid prosecution of the cause *to the end.*

almost incessant vigilance and attention, and unwearied efforts, the poor African ceased to be hunted in our streets as a beast of prey. Miserable as the roof might be under which he slept, he slept in security. He walked by the side of the stately ship, and he feared no dangers in her hold.—Nor ought we, as Englishmen, to be less grateful to that distinguished individual, than the African ought to be, upon this occasion. To him we owe it, that we no longer see our public papers polluted by hateful advertisements of the sale of the human species*; or that we are no longer distressed by the perusal of impious rewards for bringing back the poor and the helpless into slavery; or that we are prohibited the disgusting spectacle of seeing man bought by his fellow-man. To him, in short, we owe this restoration of the beauty of our constitution, this prevention of the continuance of our national disgrace."

To this eulogium of Mr. Sharp, is to be added one tribute more, to the jurisprudence of England. The world had seen, with the most grateful sensations, men of the highest talents and consummate legal knowledge gratuitously striving in defence of injured

* This execrable practice was not, however, at once wholly abolished. For several years afterwards, rebels to humanity were still to be found. The following advertisement was sent to Mr. Sharp in 1782, copied from a Liverpool newspaper:—

"*Liverpool, Oct.* 15, 1779.—To be sold by auction, at George Dunbar's office, on Thursday next, the 21st inst. at one o'clock, *a Black Boy, about fourteen years old, and a large Mountain Tiger Cat.*"

human rights, and united with no other rivalry than to try who should best plead the cause of the helpless. Nor could it contemplate with less respect, a chief magistrate of the first court of English judicature laboriously attentive to arguments which controverted his own former proceedings, and, in the end, deliberately establishing a judgment opposite to them—in behalf of humanity *.

* It is surprising, and to posterity will appear hardly credible, that the force of prejudice was so great in the enlightened nations of Europe at the time of these events, that the advocate of an injured race separated from those nations only by the sea, and distinguished from them only by a darker tinge of skin, thought it requisite to institute a regular inquiry, *whether the natives of Africa were men*—so unwilling was their unwearied champion to leave in the field the smallest point against them unassailed. A correspondence ensued with the learned Jacob Bryant on the subject. The following is Mr. Sharp's apology for writing to him:—"I am far from having any particular esteem for the Negroes; but as I think myself obliged to consider them as *men*, I am certainly obliged also to use my best endeavours to prevent their being treated as *beasts* by our unchristian countrymen, who deny them the privileges of human nature, and, in order to exercise their own *brutality*, will scarcely allow that Negroes are human beings. The tracing their *descent*, therefore, is a point of some consequence to the subject on which I am now engaged, for their defence."

On the same subject, are some marginal remarks on page 33 of an History of Jamaica by Mr. Estwick.—See Appendix, No. IV.

CHAP. V.

THE solemn and irreversible decree which had been issued in favour of Negroes in England, was attended with the utmost exultation among the anxious friends of human happiness. The general sense and feeling of the English people had long before decided the cause, and their conscious joy burst forth on occasion of the present triumph. The name of Granville Sharp became the emblem of charity: he stood the acknowledged and victorious patron of African liberty. Like the inspired deliverer of the Hebrews, he had brought captives out of the house of bondage, and given them to taste the milk and honey that flowed in a land of freedom.

In consequence of these events, a new and enlarged field of action was about to be opened to his talents and his philanthropy: his efforts in behalf of an oppressed race were now to be seconded in another hemisphere. The numerous and respectable body of Quakers in North America had, for many years, been making various efforts to alleviate the condition of slaves in several provinces*; and, when

* A General Epistle from the *Yearly Meeting* in 1754, declares it to be the "concern" of the body of *Friends* to bear

the news reached them of the favourable verdicts obtained in the cases of Strong and other Negroes in England, they immediately felt a desire of communicating with the author of these successes, and of co-operating with him in his meritorious labours. His tract "on the Injustice of Slavery" was procured, and an abridgment of it (as has been mentioned) published from their own press in Philadelphia; and numerous copies of it were dispersed, by every means in their power, as widely and expeditiously as possible. The final decision, on the trial in defence of Somerset, confirmed their respect for the champion of the cause.

The most cordial interchange of friendly sentiment now commenced between men, who, strangers, and far distant from one another, were alike earnestly labouring in the same benevolent attempt; and the intercourse which followed led to the most unexpected results.

On the memorable day which terminated the cause of Somerset and established the rights of all Negroes in England, Mr. Sharp received the first offering of a correspondence, instituted for the sole object of forwarding the deliverance of African and other slaves, but tending also, in its progress, to render him a partaker in the great political strife between

testimony against the iniquitous practice of slave-dealing, and to warn their members against making any purchase of Negroes. Another Epistle, to the same effect, was issued by the Yearly Meeting of London, in 1758.

Great Britain and her Colonies. His correspondent was ANTHONY BENEZET, a highly respectable member of the society called Quakers, in North America. He had established a free-school at Philadelphia for the education of Black People, and he took every opportunity which his situation gave him, of pleading in their behalf*.

A congeniality of spirit had singularly united these two philanthropists, before any correspondence was opened between them. In the copy, found in Mr. Sharp's library, of one of Benezet's works, is the following marginal note in manuscript.—

* He published several treatises against slavery, and he finally gave a hearty proof of his attachment to the cause of the slaves, by leaving the whole of his fortune in support of that school to which he had devoted his time and attention. His works are,—

1. "*A Description of Guinea, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, &c.*"

2. "*A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies; in a short Representation of the calamitous State of the enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions.*"—This book was transmitted by the General Meeting of Quakers in Philadelphia, to the Meeting in London, with a request that it might be reprinted here, and put into the hands of the several members of Parliament; which was accordingly done: Six hundred copies were sent to the Members of both Houses. "This was done," says Benezet, "with a view to forward the design of a national inquiry."

3. "*Short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes.*"—See Mr. Clarkson's Preface to his Prize Essay, "On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African," 1785.

"The author of this book, as printed at Philadelphia in 1762, was Mr. Anthony Benezet, of that city; descended of a French family, which forsook (and lost very considerable property in) France for the sake of their religion; so that the present Mr. B. is obliged to earn his bread in the laborious office of a schoolmaster, and is also unhappily involved in the errors of Quakerism: nevertheless he has a very large and extensive acquaintance, and is universally respected, not only among the whole body of Quakers, (Dr. Fothergill, and Dr. Franklin, having been his correspondents), but also by all others who know him.

"When G. S. was involved in the first law-suit, to defend himself against a prosecution for having set a Negro slave at liberty, in 1767, he accidentally met with a copy of this book on a stall, and, without any knowledge whatever of the author, caused this edition to be printed and published, having added thereto an account of the endeavours of 'the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' to instruct the Negroes at New York, with two of Bishop Gibson's Letters on that subject; to which G. S. added also a Conclusion, by the Editor*.

"In 1769, G. S. having nonsuited his prosecutors, was at liberty to print his representation of 'the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating

* In order to guard against any arguments that might be urged in favour of slavery from the Bishop's letters, wherein he seems to admit the legality of slave-holding.

Slavery,' which he had drawn up during the proceedings against him; and it is remarkable, that Mr. Benezet reprinted that tract at Philadelphia, without knowing that the author had paid the same compliment to his former work in 1767."

Mr. Benezet's first letter, and the reply to it, will serve to shew the progress of Mr. Sharp's thoughts and actions, in regard to the important measures on which he was now consulted; and they will at the same time disclose an unforeseen connection of interests, which gradually led him to espouse the cause and plead the rights of the colonists in their struggle with the British Cabinet.

Anthony Benezet to Granville Sharp.

"Philadelphia, 14th 5th Mo. (May), 1772.

"Esteemed Friend Granville Sharp,

"I have long been desirous to advise with such well minded persons in England, who have a prospect of the iniquity of the Slave Trade, and are concerned to prevent its continuation. And I should have been well pleased to have wrote to thee thereon, had I known how to direct; particularly as I had taken the freedom to republish but a part of thy acceptable, and I trust serviceable, treatise. But now, having a good opportunity, I make free affectionately to salute thee, and to send thee some copies of a treatise lately published here on that iniquitous traffic, giving the best account of its origin, progress, &c. which we have been able to procure. I doubt not but it may be amended by some more able hand on your side the water. We esteem the whole of thy treatise to be very instructive,

and much to the matter; nevertheless, it was thought, from the general disposition of the people here, that their attention was most likely to be drawn to it, if limited to that part which immediately concerns *us*. I trust the generosity of thy heart will excuse the freedom we have taken in abridging it, even though thou should not quite approve of our reasons for so doing. It is certainly incumbent on every lover of God and man to use their best endeavours that a stop may be put to this unnatural and barbarous traffic, as well on account of its dreadful effects on the poor Negroes, in the devastation it occasions in their country, the destruction and intolerable suffering it entails on those who remain in bondage, and their offspring; but yet much more so in the case of their lordly oppressors, the people of the West-India and southern colonies, to whom this dreadful evil will, in its consequences, extend beyond time, even in the regions of eternity, by hardening their hearts, so that they and their offspring become alienated from God, and are hastening to a state of greater and more deeply corrupt barbarity, than that from whence our northern progenitors sprung, before their acquaintance with Christianity.

"My friend, J. Wesley, gives me expectation he will consult with thee about the expediency of making some weekly publication, in the public prints, on the origin, nature, and dreadful effects of the Slave Trade; which appears absolutely necessary, as many well-minded people, who may have some influence, are ignorant of the case; and also because way may thereby be made for a further attempt towards the removal of this potent evil; to which, we think, nothing will so effectually conduce *as a representation to the King and both Houses of Parliament*. This is what we have a right to do, and what will at least be a testimony on the behalf of truth. Indeed, we cannot

be at the same time *silent* and *innocent* spectators of the most horid scene (if rightly considered, in itself, and in its consequences) that was, perhaps, ever acted upon the face of the earth. I have wrote to several of the principal persons amongst our Friends, the Quakers, on this head; earnestly requesting they would consider, whether, as they were better acquainted with the prodigious iniquity and dreadful consequences attendant on this practice, and had so publicly, in their general Yearly Epistle to their churches, every where declared their abhorrence of it, it was not their duty, either as a people, or by their principal members, to endeavour the removal of it by such a representation. I have also mentioned the matter, and sent some of the last and former treatises, to our agent, Benjamin Franklin, who, I know, has a due sense of its iniquity and evil consequences, and would, I am persuaded, use his influence in endeavouring that an end should be put to the trade. I have the more hopes of the good effects which may attend an immediate application to the King, from a paragraph in our newspapers of this month, stating, 'that a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the East-India Company in Bengal was originally proposed by a Great Personage, who was much shocked with the account he received of the oppression exercised over the poor natives.' Will any thing less than such an application excuse us to God, the common Father of mankind, when inquisition is made for the blood of so many thousands and tens of thousands, may I not say hundreds of thousands, of our fellow-men (*i. e.* our neighbours, whom we are by the Gospel enjoined to love as ourselves) so unjustly shed, and yet shedding daily, by our nation? What shall we do when God riseth up, and when he visiteth? What shall we answer him? Did not He, that made them, make us, and did not One fashion us in the womb? I beg and earnestly

entreat, by the mercies of God, that this matter of an application to the King and Parliament may be weighty with you—by those mercies, that each of us shall ere long, and perhaps very soon, recur to, when we shall have, with the greatest joy or grief, to remember that mercy is, with the blessing, promised to the merciful, and fulness of heart to those who truly hunger and thirst after righteousness. The mode of such a representation you may much better judge of than we can pretend to point out. I doubt not but thou wilt, upon inquiry, find more well-minded people ready to cry you 'Good speed' in this weighty service, than you are aware of. The most solid amongst all Dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians, would be well pleased to see an end put to the Slave Trade, and many, to slavery itself. The people of New England have made a law that nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, and, I am informed, have proposed to the Governor and Council that all Negroes born in the country should be free at a certain age. I know the flood of impiety and selfishness, which, as a torrent, seems to overflow, will be a great discouragement; but let us remember, that the Lord's power is above the power of darkness; his hand is not shortened, that he cannot save by few, as well as by many.

"The people of Maryland and Virginia are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not all of the iniquity, of any farther importation of Negroes, that a prudent person, who spent some time in these provinces, tells me, he thinks ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to the Parliament against any further import. As, perhaps, the danger of increasing the number of Negroes in the islands and colonies may have influence on the Government to prohibit any further import, it may not be amiss to observe, that, by a late computation, there are about eight hundred and fifty thousand Negroes in the

English colonies and islands. In Jamaica alone, by the poll-tax in that island for the year 1768, it appears, that there were then 166,914 *taxable* Negroes — doubtless there were enough more, who either eluded the tax, or who were not taxable, to make up two hundred thousand — and, by the best account I can obtain, (not many more, if any) but fifteen thousand Whites; and the trade for slaves still carried on with such vigour, that we have reason to conclude there is still yearly at least an hundred thousand violently brought from Africa, by the English alone: these are employed to make some new settlement, as in the islands of Tobago, St. Vincent, &c.; also, to make up deficiences, and to sell to the Spaniards.

"I remain thy Friend,

"ANTHONY BENEZET."

"I shall take it kind if thou wilt send me a few lines in answer."

G. S. to Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir, "Old Jewry, London, August 21, 1772.

"You need not have made an apology for having abridged my book. It is a sufficient satisfaction to me to find that you thought it capable of doing some service in a cause which we have both of us so much at heart.

"I not only approve, Sir, of the abridgment you have made of my arguments in particular, but of your whole performance. Some copies of it arrived here very opportunely, just before the cause of James Somerset came to a hearing in the Court of King's Bench; and, by Dr. Fothergill's kindness, I was enabled immediately to dispose of six: one to Lord Mansfield, the Chief Justice; one to Lord North, first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and four to the learned Counsel, who had generously

undertaken to plead gratis for Somerset. I had thought indeed of reprinting it, as I did your former tract in 1768, but Mr. Clark, the printer, was luckily before-hand with me; so that I had an opportunity of purchasing what more copies I wanted to distribute.

"I send you a copy of your own book, as reprinted here, and some other pamphlets lately published on the subject; with a few little tracts of my own, of which I beg your acceptance, as a small token of my esteem. I have likewise sent a copy of the judgment given by Lord Mansfield in the case of Somerset. This judgment would have done Lord Mansfield honour, had he not all along seemed inclined to the other side of the question. After the second day's argument, before any judicial determination was given, he advised the West-India merchants to apply to Parliament while it continued to sit, and Mr. ——— accordingly made a motion in the House for securing property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom. However, he did not succeed; but it is apprehended, that he and the other West-India merchants will use their utmost endeavours to carry their point next sessions. It is on this account that I have now undertaken to write once more upon the subject, in order to apprize disinterested people of the dangerous tendency of such a measure; and I shall endeavour to prepare what few friends I have in Parliament, for an opposition to such a destructive proposal, in case it should be renewed. My former tracts were built chiefly on the laws of England; but my present work is for the most part *founded on Scripture*, to obviate the doctrines of some late writers and disputers, who have ventured to assert that slavery is not inconsistent with the Word of God.

"I had thoughts once of addressing myself to the Bishops and Clergy, in order to shew them the necessity

of uniting their influence and interest on this occasion; but I have since had an opportunity of throwing this business upon the Archbishop of York *, whose application to his brethren, the Clergy, would certainly be effectual, if he should think such a measure likely to be attended with success. I have the satisfaction to be informed, that he is become a zealous advocate for the freedom of the Negroes, and is desirous of doing every service to the cause that he can.

"Your proposal of petitioning Parliament is certainly very proper, if the subject of the petition be confined to the African Slave Trade, (which is protected and encouraged by Parliament); but, *with respect to the toleration of slavery in the colonies*, I apprehend the British Parliament has no right to interfere; and that your petition on this head should be addressed *only to the King, or to the King in Council.* My reason for this opinion I wrote at large, in a letter to Lord North; a copy of which I enclose, because I think our brethren of the colonies can't be too much upon their guard with respect to the dignity and independence of their own Assemblies in this point. My letter was indeed a private one, and, therefore, if you should think proper to communicate it, it will be right to suppress the name of the nobleman to whom it is addressed.

"You mention the information you have received from Maryland and Virginia, that ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in petition to Parliament against the further importation of Negroes. Such a petition would retrieve, in some respects, the honour of those colonies, and be a glorious proof that they are not destitute of Christian and social principles; and it would probably lay

* Dr. Drummond.

the foundation for a total prohibition of that most abominable branch of the African trade, the buying and selling of men. Yet, as I have mentioned above, respect must be had to *the rights of the Colonies;* and a petition from thence, *if addressed to Parliament,* ought to relate to the *Slave Trade* (with its bad effects and consequences) *in general,* and not merely to the importation of slaves into the colonies, because the colonies have a right *themselves* to prohibit such importation respectively in their own Assemblies, with the King's concurrence; which they will be sure to obtain in this matter, if it is asked by a majority.

"With respect to a petition to Parliament against *the Slave Trade in general,* if you could procure even less than a tenth part of the lowest number of petitioners mentioned in your letter, I should think it a very considerable point gained; as it would afford an excellent argument against the pretended necessity of holding slaves in the colonies, which is always alleged as the reason of the encouragement given by Parliament to the African trade. A petition also to the King, from a small number (if a larger number, or a majority, cannot be obtained), against the *toleration of slavery in the colonies,* might have very good effects; for though it would not be likely to succeed in the whole, yet it might at least occasion the setting on foot some wholesome regulations, by way of restraint on the masters.

"I am told of some regulations that have taken place in the Spanish colonies, which do the Spaniards much honour, and are certainly worthy of our imitation, in case we should not be so happy as to obtain an entire abolition of slavery; and probably you will find many American subjects that would be willing to promote such regulations, though the same people would strenuously oppose the scheme of a total abolition of slavery.

"Be pleased to inform me, whether you shall be likely to procure any such petitions or memorials as are mentioned above; because I would endeavour to prevail on some of the Bishops to present the memorials that are for the King; as also on Sir George Saville, or some other respectable member of the Lower House, to present the petitions to Parliament. Yet this matter will require good consideration, because the business is certainly in the regular channel when conducted by your own agent.

"Lord Dartmouth, who is lately appointed secretary for the colonies, is esteemed a humane and religious man, and his mediation with the King and Council might probably be very efficacious, were he applied to from your side of the water, by way *of memorial accompanying the petition, &c.*; if signed by any respectable number of American subjects; and then the business would be in a regular track. I need not assure you, Sir, how much you have my good wishes for prosperity and success in your benevolent undertakings, and that I shall always think myself happy in lending what little assistance may happen to be in my power.

"With great esteem," &c. &c.

From these letters, Mr. Sharp's active exertions in the cause of African freedom appear not only to have given fresh zeal to the humane endeavours of the Quakers in America, but to have been the means of collecting their benevolent measures into a regular and effective method of procedure.

The tract "on the Injustice of Slavery," and the dispersion of it throughout America by Benezet and

other zealous Quakers, during the course of three successive years (from 1769), had already produced the most powerful effects. The House of Burgesses in Virginia sent a petition to the King, dated 1st of April 1772, wherein they implored his Majesty's paternal assistance in averting "a calamity of the most alarming nature." "The importation of Slaves," they said, "into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions." In some other Colonial Assemblies it had either excited or strengthened an earnest wish to abolish slavery as well as the Slave Trade.

His reply to Benezet was no less cordially welcomed: copies of it were every where circulated through the provinces, and were read with the utmost avidity. His instructions were received with deference, and the distinctions which he pointed out, with regard to the mode of petitioning against the different objects of their complaints, were regarded as rules for further proceedings.

The progress and effects of his correspondence with the zealous Benezet will be presently shewn, from a manuscript which he, many years afterwards, drew up and presented to the President of the African Institution, and in which he gave a summary account of the result of his public efforts.—

But it is first requisite, in order of time, to mention some other circumstances which had occurred, regarding the property in slaves in England.

1772.

By the judgment delivered in the cause of Somerset, a slow but fatal wound had been given to the infamous traffic in a large portion of the human race. It was evident, that the penetrating mind of Lord Mansfield had not failed to perceive, at an early advance of the trial, the extensive consequences of the principle which he was himself about to establish. With the circumspection, therefore, that became the guardian of the property and rightful claims of British subjects, we have seen him, at the close of the second day's sitting, recommending to the West-India merchants to be on their guard respecting the consequences of the proceedings then carrying on, and suggesting the expediency of their applying for advice to Parliament during its actual session.

A motion was accordingly made in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the securing of property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom. The motion was overruled. The hopes of the slave-dealers, however, survived; nor was the diligence of their opponents abated, as will appear from the following letters.

G. S. to Dr. Fothergill.

"Sir, . . "27th October, 1772.

"The West-India merchants, traders, and other interested persons, have formed a considerable association, to promote a Bill at the next meeting of Parliament for the toleration of slavery in this kingdom, in order to counteract the late clear decision of the Court of King's Bench in favour of James Somerset and of the Negroes in general.

"The slave-holders' Bill, I apprehend, will be something to the same effect as Mr. ———'s* motion, that was overruled last year; viz. 'for securing property in Negroes and other slaves in this kingdom.' I should not have taken the liberty of writing to you on this subject, had I not conceived so great an opinion of your humanity as to suppose that you would choose to be apprised of such a dangerous scheme, in order that you may raise all the opposition against it that you possibly can among your friends.

"If Mr. ———'s motion should ever pass into a law; other laws, still more unjust and cruel, must be made to enforce and assist that law, as in all other places where slavery is tolerated. It is necessary, therefore, that all persons, who sincerely regard the welfare of this kingdom, should use their utmost interest against this association of slave-holders, in order that their wretched scheme may once more be overruled; and I hope that more than five, or even fifty, righteous persons may yet be found in this great city, to oppose the measure, and declare their detestation of it in a just petition against the Bill.

* I have omitted the name of the mover in this and the preceding letter, because every one must, in common charity, suppose him to have wished the circumstance to be forgotten.

"Mr. Benezet is endeavouring to procure signatures in Pennsylvania and Maryland, to a petition against slavery.

"With great esteem," &c. &c.

Dr. Fothergill, in reply, to G. S.

"Harford Street, 8th inst.

"..... I have not been inactive in the affair. I am assured of a person, who will have considerable influence in this business, let it come before Administration which way it will.

"Let my want of leisure be no obstacle to thy informing me frequently of any thing wherein I can be of use. I shall not wait for such information, if an opportunity offers of rendering service to those who are the object of every honest man's care and attention, because they have been grievously oppressed, and are farther threatened with accumulated suffering.

"With much respect," &c.

Mr. Alleyne to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "January 13, 1773.

"At any time that you can spare an hour, I should be very happy in seeing you on the old subject of the slavery of the Negroes. There is now a Bill passing for the horrid purpose of legitimating the dire relation of master and slave in England. It must, and shall be opposed. I wish for the favour of your appointment, and will punctually wait on you when and where you please.

"Your affectionate humble servant," &c.

The result of these mutual preparations is not

noticed. Granville's vigilance was roused, but the alarm subsided *.

His attention, nearly at the same time, had been called to some transactions of which the connection with the events just related is obvious. They were such as involved the general concerns of humanity and the national character of England.

By an investigation, which took place in Parliament in November 1772, on the subject of the Caribbees in St. Vincent's (one of the neutral islands ceded by France to Great Britain at the last treaty of peace), it appeared, that very considerable disagreements had arisen, concerning some territorial distributions, between the new settlers and the remaining portion of the aboriginal possessors. At an early period of the contest, Mr. Sharp's indignation was excited by a report of its being the intention of our Government to extirpate the latter.

"The French," he says, in a letter to Dr.

* The following sentence, in a letter from G. S. to his brother Dr. J. Sharp, may probably refer to the Bill in question.

"As it has pleased God that the Negro slaves have had a solemn decision of the court in their favour, the West India slave-holders have attempted to evade it, by binding their Negro servants to them as apprentices when they bring them to England. But the law will not endure such an evasion! The servant being in slavery, is incapable of entering into any contract with his master, for the same reason that *a contract made in prison* is suspected of *duress*, and is therefore null and void."

Fothergill, "attempted in vain to subdue the Caribbees of St. Vincent's, and yet had the assurance to cede the whole island to the English, though they possessed but a small part of it; and the English, lest they should seem less adroit in Machiavelian policy than their Most Christian neighbours, are now about to enforce their title with fire and sword. Suppose, by way of comparison, that the French should think proper to cede Great Britain to the King of Prussia; should we think this a sufficient reason for acquitting the latter of robbery and wilful murder, if he were to come, by virtue of such a title, to measure out and divide our land, and to butcher every English freeholder who should presume to assert his own prior right?

"But the Caribbees possess some of the finest land in the whole island for growing sugar-canes, and therefore—we ought to extirpate them! Again: they claim more land than they possess, and are so insolent as to endeavour to preserve all that they claim; so that we *have a right* to make war upon them, and take by force, not only all that they claim, but even all that they possess! Besides, they were so presumptuous, about three years ago, as to oppose the King's troops, when sent to take possession of their lands without their leave!

"I have carefully attended to the allegations against the Caribbees, and cannot really make out, on the whole, any better meaning of them, when stripped of their sophistical dress, than what I have

here said in plain English. I do not recollect that the English annals are stained with so glaring an instance of national injustice, since Ireland was ceded by the Pope to King Henry the Second; but the ignorance and bigotry of those dark times afford an excuse for Henry, which cannot be allowed in the present instance*."

* "The island of Saint Vincent, one of the neutral islands ceded by France to Great Britain by the last treaty of peace, was in great part occupied by a race of yellow Caribbs, accounted the aboriginal possessors of the entire chain of the Greater and Lesser Antilles; and it was calculated, that, reduced as they were in number, they could still muster, within the narrow limits of St. Vincent's, more than 1000 fighting men.

"The French settlers had long lived on terms of peace and amity with this remnant of a once great and powerful nation, who are represented as a quiet inoffensive people, subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing; and, though no stipulation was made in favour of them by the Treaty of Paris, instructions were transmitted also from the English Court that they should not be molested in the possession of their lands. Many of the French, however, choosing to remove to the French islands, and having disposed of their plantations to English adventurers, these new settlers, perceiving that the most fertile districts of the island were in the hands of the Caribbs, made repeated representations to the Government at home, requesting that the Caribbs might be dispossessed of those lands, as they reaped no benefit from their superior fertility, and that other lands might be bestowed on them in exchange, in the island or elsewhere, as should be thought expedient. The arguments urged for this aggression were, the great advantages which would arise from the sale of these lands to the Crown, and the danger of neighbours so much attached to the French. These reasons at length prevailed; and, early in the year 1768, orders were issued by the Board of Treasury for the survey and disposal of the lands possessed by the Caribbs, for which they were to receive

The reflection of more sedate moments produced

a compensation in money, and in other lands allotted to them in the distant and mountainous part of the island ....."

"But this brave people, animated with a love of liberty, and passionately attached to their native woods and savannahs, resolved to assert their rights, and to maintain them to the utmost of their power. In reply, therefore, to the English Commissioners, they stated, that the whole island was originally their property; that the French, by their permission, had settled on a part of it; and that their king might doubtless dispose of that part as he pleased; but they were not his subjects, and he could not grant the lands which they had reserved for themselves, and which they now finally refused to give up or exchange. —The English Commissioners, regardless of these remonstrances, proceeded with their survey, advancing roads into the heart of the Caribb country. The Caribbs, though greatly irritated, contented themselves with destroying the new roads, and burning the huts built for the use of the surveyors.—The Caribbs were now represented to England as daring and incorrigible rebels, and it was proposed to transport them to Africa: but the Government, unwilling to proceed to such extremities, renewed their proposal for the exchange of lands, which was rejected with firmness; the Caribbs at the same time refusing to take any oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, or to any other sovereign. In consequence of this contumacy, two regiments were ordered to embark from North America, to join those already at St. Vincent's; which, united with the naval force on that station, were to proceed to reduce the Caribbs to submission, or to drive them from the island."—*Belsham's History of George III.* vol. i.

"Posterity will learn with indignation, that the sales and allotments of land I have mentioned, gave rise to a war with the Charaibes; in the course of which it became the avowed intention of Government to exterminate those miserable people altogether, or, by conveying them to a barren island on the coast of Africa, consign them over to lingering destruction." —*Bryan Edwards's History of West Indies,* vol. i. book iii. chap. 3.

the following letter to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom Mr. Sharp was apparently a stranger. His reliance, next to the justice of his cause, was on the high character of this nobleman, whom he had represented to his friend Benezet as *a humane and religious man;* and in this he was not mistaken.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth, his Majesty's Secretary of State.

"My Lord, Old Jewry, 10th October, 1772.

"A truly conscientious man is seldom to be met with in this corrupt age; yet I am much misinformed if the reality of that character is not supported by your Lordship. With this persuasion, I venture to address your Lordship upon a subject of no small concern, I apprehend, to yourself, *as a conscientious man* in office; and though I have certainly no right to interfere, being only a private individual, yet as my motive, I trust, is unblameable, I rely on your Lordship's general character that you will not be inclined to charge me with impertinence for what is at least *well-intended.*

"A friend of mine, lately returned from the ceded Islands, informs me, that a considerable body of his Majesty's troops are ordered to St. Vincent's, to act against the natives (who are descended from a mixt race, between African Negroes and the ancient Caribbee Indians); and from his knowledge of the country and climate, he assures me, that 'the consequences will, probably, be *fatal,* not only to the poor wretched Indians (who, it seems, have given no just cause of offence), but must inevitably *be fatal* also to a great number of brave officers and men of the

King's troops, before the latter will be able to accomplish this (I may say) dishonourable service;—that, besides the unwholesomeness of the climate, which our men will have to combat with, they will find the Indians a very rude and stubborn enemy, when exasperated by injuries and rendered desperate. The French experienced the valour of these people, when they once attempted to enslave them; and, after the loss of a great number of troops, they were obliged at last to give up *the wicked undertaking*, in which their wretched policy and abominable injustice had engaged them.—But I ought not to dwell only on the *difficulty* of executing the present project, since the justice or injustice of the cause should be the principal point in consideration among Christians.

"The possessions in dispute were held by the present proprietors many years before the late peace, when the island was ceded to England; and as our present claim is founded on that cession, we cannot possibly make out the least title to *the lands of the Indians*, because the French could have no right to cede what did not belong to them —the property of a people who owed no obedience, nor acknowledged allegiance to their Government. They might as well have pretended to cede to us the Seven United Provinces, as the possessions of this little united body of Indians, whom they *could never conquer*: so that these Indians were absolutely *independent* of the French Government, and consequently independent of the English Government also. The only right that the French could possibly give us, by that cession, is an *exclusive right against themselves*, in case they should ever attempt hereafter to conquer the independent Indians, in order to establish themselves."

[He here refers to a report sent from St. Vincent's to the Lords of the Treasury, about four years

prior, relating the opposition of the Caribbees to the surveying and measuring of the island by the King's troops, whom they threatened to charge if they advanced any further; telling them, that they were welcome, if they came as friends; but that they would never suffer the English to measure and take possession of their lands. "The English had too small a force to attack them; and the Indians, though the stronger party, behaved with civility when the English desisted from measuring; so that there was no bloodshed." The report, he says, expressed "a very unreasonable indignation against the poor Indians, though it appeared that the most civilized nation could not have acted with more moderation and propriety."]

"At that time, indeed, I had not the least fear of any bad consequences to the Indians; because I trusted that his Majesty's Ministers in general would be so well acquainted with the *law of nations*, and the unalterable principles of *natural justice*, that they would never be liable to hearken to such insinuations. But what must I say, now that the intentions of Administration are known? For God's sake, my Lord, if you are really the *conscientious man* that I believe you to be, inquire strictly and carefully into this matter, as it is now in your proper department; and if you find that there are any just grounds for what I have advanced, I think I may rest assured that you will use your utmost endeavours to stop all further proceedings against the Indians, that the *credit of our nation* may not openly be stained by the horrid crimes of *unjust oppression*, robbery, and premeditated murder; and that such complicated guilt may not occasion the withdrawing of God's blessing from the King's family and this kingdom.—I have already mentioned the great uncertainty

of success in the present undertaking against the Caribbees; but let me add, that even a victory, in so bad a cause, will load the English Government with indelible shame and dishonour. The credit of our Ministers must sink to the hateful level of politicians whose principles are baneful to human society, and must necessarily, therefore, be detestable before God and man. The blood that will probably be spilt on both sides, must *somewhere be imputed:* for *open and avowed injustice*, and wilful murder, cannot be vindicated before God by any deceitful sophistry about the necessity of such measures to produce the nation's good, or to maintain the prosperity of our colonies; because good and evil can never change places, and because *we must 'not do evil that good may come.'*

"These are the *first* and most *fundamental principles of Government:* so that statesmen and politicians, who thus venture to dispense with them, ought to be reminded, that such measures not only accumulate a national, but a *personal* guilt, which they must one day *personally* answer for, when they shall be compelled to attend, with common robbers and murderers, expecting an eternal doom; for the nature of their crimes is essentially the same, and God is no respecter of persons.

"I am very well aware of the arguments that will be advanced to defend this unjust measure; and I am sufficiently prepared (I hope) to answer them, that is, *privately in writing*, to your Lordship, whenever you shall think proper to honour me with your commands.

"With great deference and respect, my Lord," &c.

In reply to this letter, Lord Dartmouth wrote to Mr. Sharp, requesting to see him the next day. He accordingly waited on his Lordship; and, in

this interview, it is not to be doubted that he urged every argument in favour of the injured Caribbees with his usual energy and manly sense. In fact, he appears to have made a strong impression on the mind of the amiable nobleman to whom he had so fortunate an opportunity of expressing his sentiments*; and it may be presumed, that, in the hands of so just and benevolent a mediator, his plea for national faith was not unavailing†.

* "To my Lord Dartmouth I wrote several letters, against the oppression exercised in the colonies, and more particularly against the monstrous iniquity of sending an armed force to dispossess the poor Caribbees at St. Vincent's. I have since had the honour of a conference with his Lordship; when I found he had no hand in promoting that expedition; and I obtained his promise that he would speak in behalf of the injured Caribbs, if he should have any favourable opportunity." —G. S. to A. Benezet, 7th July, 1773.

† "At this period, Mr. Alderman Trecothick, M. P. for London, made several Motions in the House of Commons, for inquiring into this unjust expedition; all of which were negatived by a large majority. The public feelings were beginning to be greatly awakened, when intelligence arrived, that, after several encounters, in which our troops had suffered severely, a treaty of peace was at length concluded with the Caribbs. By this treaty they were confirmed in their ancient possessions, with the exception of certain districts to be surrendered to the Commissioners appointed by his Britannic Majesty, whom they recognised as rightful sovereign of St. Vincent's, and consented to hold their lands as a grant from him."—*Belsham's History of George III.*

We may now proceed to the Manuscript account of the correspondence with Benezet (subsequent to the first two letters).

MS. 'On the 3d of January 1773, G. S. received 'Mr. Benezet's second letter, dated 8th November '1772, enclosing extracts from the minutes of the 'Assembly of Virginia, in April 1772, against the 'toleration of the Slave Trade; and signifying his 'hopes of succeeding in procuring such petitions as 'were recommended in G. S.'s letter of the 21st of 'August; stating also, that he will send copies of 'that letter to Virginia and Maryland, and that an 'eminent lawyer, to whom he had communicated 'it, had undertaken to draw up suitable forms of 'petitions.

'In a third letter, dated 18th February 1772-3, 'Mr. Benezet says, "I made out several copies of 'such parts of thy letter as were likely to promote 'the good end proposed. These were sent to 'Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland, to such 'persons as had the matter at heart, with all the 'additional strength in my power, in order to en-'courage their taking the most effect." In the same 'letter he adds, "We have pushed the point among 'ourselves" (the people of Pennsylvania), "by

'handing about extracted copies of thy letter, the 'Virginian Petition, &c.". To which he adds, "And 'our Assembly meeting about the same time, we 'put forward a petition to be laid before them, of 'which I herewith send thee a copy. This was 'freely agreed to by all the clergy of every denomi-'nation, and other weighty members in society: 'scarce any but gave their cordial assent. If time 'would have allowed, I am persuaded we might 'have had ten thousand signers. The Assembly 'concurred with the proposal, and appointed a short 'time for the second reading. Nevertheless, they 'have not thought it expedient to comply with the 'petition, but, as a preliminary, have thought it 'best to frame a Bill, augmenting (*i. e.* in favour of 'the Crown) the duty upon the Negroes from ten 'to twenty pounds. I have also sent an extract of 'thy letter, of the Virginia Petition, &c., to some 'weighty members of three different counties in 'New-York Government, and the same to two 'counties in New Jersey, &c."'

(All these transactions appear to have taken place in the end of the year 1772. The letter is dated the 18th February, 1773.)

MS. 'On the 25th May, 1773, G. S. received a 'fourth letter from Mr. Benezet, dated 29th March, 'signifying, that, "in consequence of the Phila-'delphian Petition, mentioned in his last letter, the

'Assembly had laid a further duty on slaves (and 'made it perpetual) at 20*l.* per head; and that they 'apprehended that the passing or refusal of this law 'by the *King and Council*, will better enable them 'to judge what further steps to take, with respect to 'making head with the *King and Parliament that 'the Slave Trade may be put an end to.*"

'On the 7th of June, 1773, G. S. received a fifth 'letter from Mr. Benezet, dated April 5th, wherein 'he informs him, that an opposition to any farther 'importation of slaves in the northern colonies 'appears to be *an increasing concern;* and even the 'putting an end to slavery itself is endeavoured for 'in New England; and the Assembly has proposed, 'or intends to propose, a law for setting all Negroes 'free at a certain age, and declaring those to be 'imported in future, free, either at their landing, or 'after some short time of service, &c.'

'By a sixth letter from Mr. Benezet, in the same 'year (1773), G. S. received a copy of the Pennsyl-'vanian Petition, and of the Act of Assembly which 'passed in consequence of it; together with a re-'quest to give intelligence to his friends in America, 'by the return of the same ship, whether any notice 'had been taken by the British Government of the 'Virginia Petition, and the Acts of the Pennsyl-'vanian Assembly for laying a duty on Negroes. 'This letter was not received till the beginning of 'January 1774. On the 7th of that month, G. S. 'waited on Lord ——, the Secretary of State, at

'his house on Blackheath, to make these inquiries. 'His Lordship informed him, that nothing further 'had been done relating to the Virginia Petition; 'and as to the Pennsylvanian Act of Assembly '(a copy of which G. S. then presented to his Lord-'ship), he promised to take particular notice of it 'when it should be transmitted to his Majesty. He 'did not recollect that he had yet seen it.

'G. S. then took the liberty of exclaiming very 'earnestly against the iniquity of attending to poli-'tical or mercenary pleas for tolerating slavery and 'the Slave Trade, as being notorious instances of 'doing evil that good may come, and that we have 'therefore the greatest reason to expect some dread-'ful judgment on the kingdom, for tolerating such 'monstrous wickedness. The truly worthy and 'conscientious Nobleman, by his behaviour and 'conversation, seemed most heartily to detest the 'unnatural traffic.

'In May 1774, G. S. received a seventh letter 'from Mr. Benezet, dated March 16th (delivered by 'Mr. William Dillwyn, from Philadelphia.) Among 'other things, Mr. B. repeats that the "importation 'of Negroes, and indeed slavery itself, receives all 'the discouragement that can be expected in these 'northern colonies; and some in the more southern 'are also sensible of the danger and destructive 'tendency of the increase of slaves among them." 'But, "except some check," he continues, "can be

'put *with you* to the importation of slaves from 'Guinea, I fear little will be done."

'"Our Assembly," he also signifies, "will be 'induced to petition the King against any further 'importation of slaves from Africa; also to pass a 'law declaring all Negroes in future to be born free."

'"Thy remarks, in favour of such persons as think 'it their duty to protect such slaves as have escaped 'from their masters, with the law-reasoning on the 'case, afford me uncommon satisfaction. I trust 'they will be made use of to profit in these parts."

'Also, "The Assembly at New York had lately 'passed a law declaring the children of slaves to 'be born free, but it was not confirmed by the 'Governor*."'

The correspondence with Benezet, if it did not inspire, at least confirmed and enlarged Mr. Sharp's desire of inquiry respecting the general subject of the African Slave-Trade. It conducted his view to an examination of the *source of the evil*, and he conceived the vast design of extending his endeavours gradually, and of augmenting and strengthening his means, until he should obtain an entire abolition of

* The continued opposition of the British Government to such just proposals, is severely censured in a remark of a later date annexed to this extract, as are also the Americans for having "fallen away from their former righteous principles."

the infamous traffic carried on by Great Britian and her colonies.

In justice then, and no less in honour, to the memory of the pious but humble Benezet, let it be remembered, that, although his zealous labours failed to eradicate from his native soil the evil which he deplored, they contributed to strengthen the arm of the great champion of his favourite cause, and finally to wipe away no small portion of human disgrace.

A further account of the concurrence of Mr. Sharp's efforts with those of the American Quakers, will be seen from one of his letters to the Bishop of London in 1795. This extract will be the more acceptable, as it takes a short review of the principal concerns which have been already related with regard to the Negro causes, and extends at the same time to others, which will presently succeed to notice.

" My Lord,

" An accidental circumstance, about thirty years ago, led me to vindicate a poor Negro boy (without having the least apprehension of the extraordinary consequences) before the chief magistrate in London; by whose authority the boy was released from the Poultry Compter, where he had been illegally confined in order to be shipped a slave for the West Indies. This release drew upon me a prosecution by a Jamaica planter, for 200*l.* damages; whereby I was compelled (though I had engaged the best advice that the profession could afford me) to study the law in my own defence, in order to oppose a joint opinion of the late Lords Hardwicke and Talbot, given in 1729, which my

attorney brought to me, in order to shew the hopeless state of any defence against the impending action; urging also the constant practice of the Court of King's Bench under Lord Mansfield, who strenuously persisted in delivering up all run-away slaves to their masters. These formidable difficulties produced a very serious anxiety for my own case, which fairly superseded my natural aversion to researches in law books; and the action being held in suspense over my head, from term to term, for about two years, I was enabled in that time, by a careful examination of the first principles of law, to demonstrate the extreme injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery, and of admitting the least claim of private property in the persons of men, in England; whereby, not only my antagonist was nonsuited, but the same doctrine was also effectually urged, to relieve many other poor Negroes from slavery.

"The tract which I had drawn up and printed in 1769, was soon afterwards reprinted in America, by Mr. Anthony Benezet, a worthy old Quaker at Philadelphia, whose other publications had already begun to awaken the attention of the Americans to the injustice and danger of tolerating slavery.

"In April 1772, the Assembly of Virginia stated, in a respectful petition to his Majesty, the great inhumanity of the Slave Trade, and their fears that 'it would endanger the very existence of his Majesty's American dominions.'

"This warning was very remarkable, if we consider from whence it came,—from the first colony the English ever had in America, which had not long been involved in the English guilt of tolerating slavery; and it was still more remarkable in the *event*, for the American Colonies existed a very little time longer as dominions of his Majesty: so that this Virginian warning against the Slave Trade is fairly entitled, *by the event*, to be deemed

prophetical, especially as the doctrine of the remonstrance was just and true*.

"In the same year, 1772, Lord Mansfield very candidly gave up his former opinion and practice, respecting the supposed legality of delivering up run-away slaves to the masters, and reversed the joint opinion of the Lords Hardwicke and Talbot, in giving judgment on the case of Somerset, a poor Negro whom I supported against the claims of his master.

"About the same time, or soon afterwards, the freeholders and inhabitants of the counties of Somerset and Essex, in New Jersey, presented petitions to the Governor, Council, and Representatives of the province, against the Slave Trade. By the petition from the latter county, the Assembly was requested 'to obtain an alteration of his Majesty's instruction to his Excellency the Governor relating to the African Trade, so that his Excellency may be at liberty to consent to such laws for the preventing the future importation of Negroes into this province as to the Legislature may appear just and reasonable.' The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia also petitioned their Assembly against the Slave Trade, expressly citing the example set them by the province of Virginia in petitioning the King, 'from a deep sensibility of the danger and pernicious consequences which will be attendant on a continuation of his iniquitous traffic.'

"But the Assembly of Pennsylvania, suspecting the partiality for slavery on this side of the Atlantic, postponed their address to the Throne, and, instead of it, transmitted

* "The refusal of the British Government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves from among them by law, was afterwards enumerated among the public reasons for separating from the Mother Country." — *Clarkson's History of the Abolition.*

an Act of Assembly for the King's assent, whereby they laid a heavy duty on the head of every slave that should be imported; hoping that the gain of an American tax (for which in all other cases Administration were so remarkably sanguine), might, perhaps, overbalance that partiality which they justly suspected. But they were unhappily mistaken, for this seasonable attempt to discourage the crying national sin was rejected: so that the guilt of persisting in that monstrous wickedness demands indeed an atonement, or repentance, but not from America*.

"Soon afterwards, I was desired, by a letter from America, to inquire for an answer to the Virginia Petition; and I waited on the Secretary of State, and was informed by himself, that the petition was received, but that he apprehended no answer would be given.—*Thus I had traced the evil to its source.*"

The events above related were the first connecting incidents which served to combine in Mr. Sharp's mind the cause of the Negro slaves with the political negotiations of our state towards America, where his name was now generally beloved and admired, and an acquaintance with him was sought, as with the great advocate for the sacred cause of freedom. "I am glad," says Benezet, in a letter dated 5th of April 1773, "to understand from my friend Benjamin Franklin, that you have commenced an acquaintance, and that he expects you will in future act in concert in the affair of slavery."

* In a letter of still later date, to the Duke of Richmond, he adds, "The Assembly at New York found such another Bill, and the Assembly of North Carolina proposed sending a Petition to the King of the same purport as that of Virginia."

The following letter is a specimen of the feeling excited towards him, among the friends of humanity in America.

Dr. Rush to Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Philadelphia, May 1, 1773.

"From the amiable character which I have received of you, from my worthy friend, Mr. Anthony Benezet, I have taken the liberty of introducing myself to your correspondence, by sending you a pamphlet, entitled 'An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America.' It was written amidst many interruptions, from a business which admits of but little leisure for studies or pursuits of that nature—I mean the profession of physic. Few of the arguments are new; and yet I have endeavoured, by their conciseness, to give them new force. A spirit of humanity and religion begins to awaken, in several of the colonies, in favour of the poor Negroes. The clergy begin to bear a public testimony against this violation of the laws of nature and Christianity. Nothing of consequence, however, can be done here, till the axe is laid to the root of the African Company.—Great events have been brought about by small beginnings. Anthony Benezet stood alone, a few years ago, in opposing Negro slavery in Philadelphia; and now three-fourths of the province, as well as the city, cry out against it. I sometimes please myself with the hopes of living to see it abolished, or put upon another footing in America.

"The pamphlet will be left at the Pennsylvania Coffee-house, in Birchin Lane. Should you incline to reprint it, please to make such alterations as you think proper.

"With esteem for your virtues, and in particular for your zeal in behalf of the Negro slaves in America,

"I am, Sir, with great respect, &c. &c.

"BENJAMIN RUSH."

Here it becomes necessary for the biographer to pause. It appears from the Manuscript account of his correspondence with America, that, in consequence of the activity excited in the Quakers, and other numerous bodies in America, by Mr. Sharp's successful exertions for the Negroes in England, it was proposed by the State of Virginia, and other provinces, to apply to the British Parliament for an amendment of their laws with regard to the importation of slaves into the colonies. Mr. Sharp was written to, and informed of this purpose; and he, in reply, stated to them his opinion, that the British Parliament had nothing to do with the internal laws of their states, in respect of which it was proper for them to address none but the King and his Council.

This doctrine was not new to the Americans. It was precisely the same which they had for two years openly maintained in *fact*, during the contest occasioned by the attempts of our ministry to impose internal taxes on the colonies*. But it had hitherto been acted on as far only as regarded the imposition

* See Marshall's Life of General Washington, printed in Philadelphia, vol. ii. chap. 2.

of duties for the purpose of raising a revenue, (or in similar cases leading to the same point). In the instance in which Granville now brought it to their view, although it stood on the same basis, it appeared in a new and more enlarged light. The strength and clearness with which his opinion was expressed concerning it, was of course highly agreeable to the prevailing temper of the colonists; and they accepted with eagerness arguments that extended the scope of those principles which they had so sturdily asserted. Copies of his letters were every where rapidly circulated; and the method which he had proposed was adopted, as the true constitutional rule for proceeding in regard to all circumstances of the Slave Trade. But in this, as in other things, the principle on which he grounded his actions was so extensive, as to embrace much more than its immediate object; and hence, when the increasing animosities in the colonies provoked them to hostile conflict, the same doctrine was forcibly brought forward *in all points*, and the whole resistance of America to England stood on the same foundation as that which Granville had laid down for the regulation of their Slave Laws.

Of these events, although unforeseen at the time that has been described, he seems to have been fully aware when writing his later memoranda; in one of which (speaking of Mr. Benezet having printed such numerous extracts of his first letter in America), he thus expresses himself: "It is remarkable, that an

humble endeavour to oppose domestic tyranny and slavery, without any other view, should be the means of warning the Americans of the natural independence of their several Assemblies with respect to the British Parliament." And, in another memorandum, he speaks more decidedly on the same point;—that the toleration of slavery in the colonies, and the suggestions of a few individuals "that the Americans should apply for a regular repeal of the disgraceful Plantation Laws (enacted by their own Houses, and sanctioned by their Assemblies), through *the King and Council*, were the means of preparing them to insist on the illegality of any interference of the British Parliament in matters of legislation for the colonies, in opposition to the astonishing system which unfortunately prevailed at that time in England*."

* It is apparent, from what has been already observed of the actual circumstances which took place in the colonies for two years preceding the date of Mr. Sharp's first reply to Benezet, that he here overrates the *extent* of the consequences of his correspondence.

Besides the several petitions which had been addressed by the provinces (the Massachusetts in particular) *to the King alone*, Dr. Franklin relates, in a letter (to the Hon. T. Cushing,) dated December 2, 1772, that, in a conversation with Lord Dartmouth, on the subject of the Massachusetts Petition, he had remarked to his Lordship, that he "might observe that *Petitions came no more from America to the Parliament, but to the King only.*"—*Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. ii.

Mr. Sharp's opinions, however, might naturally have had their full weight with Dr. Franklin, whose approbation of them

Of counsels, which have been connected with such momentous results, it is natural to investigate the motives with severity. The conduct of Granville might have been that of a *partisan* of a foreign country, inimical to his own;—but how could that be the case with *him*, who, at all times the most steady in loyalty, and most attached both to the Church and State of Great Britain, looked on the Constitution of his country as the nearest to perfection *; was at all times zealous for the preservation of its purity; and regretted the violence offered to

in general will be seen in the last page of this chapter, and who afterwards thus writes to his son, Governor Franklin, at New York:—"I know not what letters of mine Governor H—— could mean. I shall, however, be able at any time to justify every thing I have written. *From a long and thorough consideration of the subject, I am indeed of opinion that the British Parliament has no right to make any law whatever binding on the Colonies; that the King (and not the King, Lords, and Commons collectively) is their sovereign; and that the King, with their respective Parliaments, is their only legislator.*"—*Ibid.*

This letter is dated Oct. 6, 1773, a year and two months after Mr. Sharp's reply to A. Benezet on the subject of the American petitions. Mr. Sharp's conduct, therefore, (especially as he afterwards expressed no dissatisfaction in reflecting on it) may, in the strictness of justice, be examined by the test of *his own consciousness of its effects.*

* In a letter to Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Durham, he thus expresses his sentiments:—

"If the British Empire was to include the greatest part of the known world, no system of human policy would be so capable of uniting and holding it together as the BRITISH CONSTITUTION OF STATE."

the American Colonists, as to his *fellow-subjects* of *the English Government?* It might have been the conduct of an *ambitious enthusiast*,—if the love of fame and personal distinction had not been proved to be a sentiment repulsive to his natural disposition. A higher motive governed all his endeavours; a motive which prompted him to look down alike on faction and on ambition:—his *religion* taught him to desire *right*, without any consideration of *consequences*. To this his acknowledged principle* he adhered through life, in precept and in practice.

To return to the narrative—To a man disposed by nature to contemplate boldly the most abstruse sources of universal truth, and eminently endowed with faculties for such a purpose, sufficient opening had been given to lead him forward in the interesting track of human liberty. With the same eagerness with which he had sought in English statute-books for the defence of individual freedom, he now turned to investigate, by a more extensive research, the natural and political rights of nations in general. His immediate motive was still the love of *the English character*. "The duty of an Englishman," says his *MS.*, "to maintain the just limits of law *according to the English Constitution of State*, impelled me, in the year 1774, to publish another tract, viz.: 'A Declaration of the People's natural Rights to a Share in the Legislature, which

* See page 161.

is the fundamental Principle of the British Constitution.'"

Of this Declaration, he says, in another Note (July 27, 1774), that he gave to Dr. Franklin two hundred and fifty copies, which were sent to America the same day; and it will presently appear, that it was there reprinted, in many different provinces, within the course of the same year.

Various circumstances thus gradually led him to feel the most lively interest in the causes which then began to estrange the British Colonies in America from the parent country; and the result of negotiations, in which he was warmly solicited by the Americans to take a share, was, a full possession of his mind in favour of the colonists, who, he conceived, were pleading their natural and legal rights.

In consequence of this persuasion, he necessarily considered the war, which was now on foot against their principles, as unjustifiable on the part of England. He was shortly going to give proof of the sincerity of his sentiments.

CHAP. VI.

DURING the whole course of the important transactions which have hitherto been related, it will be recollected that Mr. Sharp had continued in the humble employment of a clerk in ordinary in the minuting branch of the Ordnance Office; where the duties of his department appear to have been punctually performed, since, on the death of the second clerk, in the year 1774, he succeeded to the place, and acted as assistant to the secretary, Mr. Boddington: on the occasion of which promotion he received also an additional allowance.

It was in this situation that, in conformity with the sentiments which have been ascribed to him in the preceding chapter, he exhibited a fresh instance of the scrupulous integrity which directed all his actions.

MS. 'July 28, 1775, Board at Westminster.—'Account in Gazette of the battle of Charlestown, 'near Boston; and letters, with large demands of 'ordnance stores, being received, which were ordered 'to be got with all expedition, I thought it right to 'declare my objections to the being any way con-'cerned in that unnatural business, and was advised

'by Mr. Boddington to ask leave of absence for two 'months, as the Board would take it more kindly 'than an abrupt resignation.

'I wrote that day to Sir Charles Cocks, Clerk of 'the Ordnance, and received a very polite answer. '—Sir Jeffrey Amherst and Mr. Langlois were made 'acquainted with my objections by Mr. Boddington, 'and also with the advice he had given me: and 'they approved of the manner of my absenting 'myself.'

Arrangements having thus been made to favour Mr. Sharp's wishes, he employed the time of his leisure in literary labours, and in renewing the ties of affection with his relations in the North. At the expiration of the limited time of absence from the office, he wrote in the following terms to Mr. Boddington.

[EXTRACT.]

"Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland,

"Dear Sir, 26th Sept. 1775.

"As the term of my leave of absence will expire in a few days, and there is not yet any change of public measures respecting America, though the Petition lately brought over by Mr. Penn had given me some hopes of it, I now begin to be anxious about my own particular situation; for as my opinions on that subject are established, I cannot return to my ordnance duty whilst a bloody war is carried on, unjustly as I conceive, against my fellow-subjects; and yet, to resign my place would be to give up a calling, which, by my close attendance to it for near

eighteen years, and by my neglect of every other means of subsistence during so long a period, is now become my only profession and livelihood.

"And indeed, after the kind indulgence which I have already experienced on this occasion, as well as on many others, from the Right Honourable and Honourable Board, and after the very polite and friendly manner in which Sir Charles Cocks was pleased to grant me leave of absence for the time I requested (of all which favours I am truly sensible), I should perhaps seem wanting in that sincere respect which I owe them, were I to resign my place all at once, without first soliciting a further indulgence of absence, till the final determinations of the Parliament respecting America, in the approaching session, are fully known; as the expediency, at least, of a friendly accommodation with the colonies must by this appear sufficiently manifest to justify a hope that some probable means of restoring peace may be adopted before the commencement of another year. In the mean time, I shall think myself very happy to give up my whole salary, to be divided, as should be thought most proper, amongst the gentlemen of the office who bear any additional burthen of business on account of my absence; being desirous to retain nothing for myself but my rank in the office. In what manner to make application for this additional favour, I must request your friendly information, as I have fully experienced the propriety of your kind advice on the same subject.

"With great esteem," &c. &c.

Mr. Boddington, in a very friendly reply to this letter, recommends to Mr. S. simply to request a further leave of absence, without assigning any reason, or proposing any conditions.

His advice was thankfully and implicitly followed. At the same time Mr. S. sent a power of attorney to Mr. Boddington, enabling him to receive his salary, and entreating him to dispose of the whole in such a manner as he should think most proper for procuring the necessary assistance during his absence, "in order," he says, "that no additional expense be brought on the office on that account."

The following letter was the result of the second application, and is given here as a specimen of the respectful kindness which the probity of Mr. Sharp's character attracted, even from those who differed with him in opinion.

"Office of Ordnance, Old Palace Yard,
"Sir, October 18, 1775.

"As I am always desirous to grant you every indulgence in my power, I most readily prolong your leave of absence for three months from the expiration of the last leave; and am, with great regard,

"Your humble Servant,

"CHARLES COCKS."

"Mr. Granville Sharp."

MS. 'March 20, 1776.—Mr. Boddington called 'on me, to acquaint me that Sir Charles Cocks had 'talked with the Board of Ordnance, and that they 'said, "I was at liberty to do as I pleased about 'resigning; but if I chose to ask a further leave of 'absence, it would be granted."'

A third application was accordingly made in the same month, and was met by an equally indulgent answer as the former ones had been; the leave of absence being further extended for six months.

At length, hostilities with America having advanced beyond any hopes of speedy accommodation, it was thought advisable to fill his place in the office.

MS. 'April 10, 1777.—This morning I called 'on Sir Charles Cocks, and resigned my post in the 'Ordnance; Mr. Boddington having acquainted me 'that matters were so circumstanced in the office at 'present, that Sir Charles did not think it prudent 'to grant me any longer leave of absence.

'I went on, however, with the current business 'of the office, excepting what related to preparations 'against the Americans, until Monday the 31st of 'July, when I delivered up my keys to Mr. Bod-'dington.'

Granville's situation, after he had resigned his employment in the Ordnance office, was sufficiently singular. His resignation had in it all that is considered, in a worldly view, as an excess of imprudence. He had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance and the fruits of his employment in acts of bounty; and the protector of the helpless stood himself without the means of sustenance. But the cordial attachment of his brothers (all now

prosperous) brought them instantly around him. In a family overflowing with mutual love and benevolence, the accession to their household of such a relation as Granville had ever been accounted as a treasure, not as a burden. They reverenced that obedience to conscience which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness. The following affectionate testimonial will shew that they had anticipated both the event, and the feelings of their beloved brother in consequence of it.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

"London, October 5, 1775.

"Dear Brother Granville,

"Many thanks for your very affectionate letter of the 26th of last month. We very much approve, *here*, of your asking a farther leave of absence. It will give you a little leisure, which you so very much want; and it will let you have a little enjoyment of the friends you see so seldom; and, above all, it may give some chance for a turn in public affairs: and of this I do not at all despair; but if it should be otherwise, and you should think it proper to give up your employment—I will now speak for my brother William as well as for myself—we are both ready and willing, and, God be thanked, at present *able*, to take care that the loss shall be none to you; and all that we have to ask in return is, that you would continue to live amongst us as you have hitherto done, without imagining that you will, in such a situation, be burthensome to us, and also without supposing that it will then be your duty to seek employment

in some other way of life; for, if we have the needful amongst us, it matters not to whom it belongs—the happiness of being together is worth the expense, if it answered no farther purpose. But I will go farther, I have no doubt but the mutual assistance we are of to each other, and the consequence we acquire by it, is more than adequate to any third employment we might reasonably hope could be obtained; and, in case of the death of either party, much more would be lost to the family by your absence than perhaps might be produced by other means. These are only a few reasons drawn up in haste, as they appear to me to enforce what I have said above; but I trust you will have no occasion for it: it is not every part of office-duty you object to—you will, of course, refuse particular parts. It may pass on so till times come round—but if not, I shall not be at all uneasy at the resignation, if what is now said shall be agreeable to yourself.

"Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

"JAMES SHARP."

"Dear Granville, I most heartily approve of what my brother has written above; and I hope you will think of the matter as we do.

"Much love, as due, from your affectionate Brother,

"WILLIAM SHARP."

This offer Granville accepted, and continued to share the table and the purse of those excellent brothers for several years, until an accidental acquaintance with General Oglethorpe (as will be afterwards mentioned) restored him to independence.

Being now without any civil employment, the natural activity of his mind led him to devote him-

self more fully to his pursuits of literary study; and it will therefore be proper to take a view, in the next chapter, of the works of literature which he had produced, with a diligence scarcely to be surpassed, up to the present period; and also a brief notice of the various talents with which he was endowed.

It is singular, that among his copious Manuscript Minutes he has left scarcely any records of the employment of his time in study*. He appears to have noted, in his memorandums, only the pleasures which he enjoyed in society, or the benefits which he diffused in it. It will, however, be partly seen from the following letter, by what methods he found leisure and opportunity for his deep and important researches.

To the Rev. Dr. Rutherforth. [EXTRACT.]

"Dear Sir, "London, 24th August, 1771.

"It has been a matter of great concern to me, that I have not been able to cultivate that correspondence and friendship with which you have been pleased to honour me, for I was ever truly sensible of the advantage and

* Some few only are found in the following minutes:

MS. 'August 6th, 1775.—Packed up such of my books and 'papers as I wanted, and in the evening brought them to 'brother William's lodging at Hackney, in order to be private; 'and was employed without interruption in preparing several 'tracts.

'October 19.—At Bamborough Castle. Finished my tract '"On the Law of Retribution."'

improvement which I might have reaped from it. The remarks, which I send enclosed, were indeed drawn up in answer to your letter, so long ago as August 1770, but ever since that time, till the last month, I have lived in a continual hurry; almost my whole time from morning till night being taken up in my office business, except now and then some little engagement with my brothers, which I could not well avoid; so that I have not had leisure to this time. We keep no holidays in the Ordnance, as in other public offices, and I am stationed in the most laborious post in the whole office; so that, as my time is not my own, I profess myself entirely incapable of holding a literary correspondence. What little time I have been able to save from sleep at night, and early in a morning, has been necessarily employed in the examination of some points of law, which admitted of no delay, and yet required the most diligent researches and examination in my study. And I have not scrupled to employ, now and then, even the leisure of a Sunday in this manner, because my labour has not been for profit, but merely with a view to do good and prevent injustice, by pointing out some notorious corruptions in the beaten paths of the law, which has enabled me to serve a few individuals, I hope with good effect.

"I should not have mentioned such particulars as these, relating to the employment of my time, had it not been necessary for me to convince you that my ordinary excuse, *the want of leisure*, was not feigned, and that my whole time has been unavoidably engrossed.

"With great esteem and respect, &c.

He gives a similar account in one of his letters to Mr. Benezet, on the subject of African slavery.

"Dear Sir, 7th July, 1773.

"I hope you will not measure my esteem for you by my negligence in writing. I found myself obliged to defer acknowledging your very sensible letters, for want of proper leisure; for I am really a sort of slave myself, being obliged to employ every day in the week, constantly, in the ordinary business of my office, and having no holidays but Sundays, as the branch that I am in requires more attendance than any in the whole office. However, every opportunity that I could possibly get to myself (and Sundays in particular, after service) has been employed in reading and collecting materials to forward the undertaking which you have so much at heart," &c. &c.

CHAP. VII.

MR. SHARP's first literary enterprise was a work of no indifferent magnitude, if we regard the subject of it, though it consisted of a few pages only in duodecimo. It was printed in the year *1765*, in answer to the Rev. Dr. Kennicott's statement of supposed corruptions in the Hebrew text of Ezra and Nehemiah. It was called, "Remarks on a "printed Paper lately handed about, entitled, 'A "'Catalogue of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, "'and of the chief Jews who returned at first from "'the Captivity, together with the Names of the "'returning Families, and the Number of the "'Persons at that Time in each Family: disposed "'in such a Manner as to show most clearly the "'great Corruption of proper Names and Numbers "'in the present Text of the Old Testament." "Addressed to all such Gentlemen as have received "or read the same."

The boldness of this attempt cannot be regarded without surprise. It were surely no trifling hazard for a young author, however accomplished for controversy by the regular instruction of the schools, to make his first essay against one of the ablest scholars of the day, on points in which he was allowed to be

pre-eminently learned. But Dr. Kennicott's present antagonist had received no classical education: he had left the only school at which he had ever been placed, before he had attained any solid acquaintance with the languages of antiquity; and he had, ever since that early period of his life, been confined to the most unremitting employment of all the ordinary hours of labour. His uncle, the Rev. Granville Wheler, on reading his corrections of Dr. Kennicott's Catalogue, humorously compared him to David attacking and wounding Goliath.

This work gave the first proof of his unwearied powers of application, and of the strong bent of his mind to the pursuit of Biblical knowledge. The singularity of the subject, the confidence with which his enterprise was supported, and the success with which it was finally attended, form one of the most remarkable incidents in literary annals *.

Dr. Kennicott is well known in the literary world for his laborious and valuable edition of the Hebrew Bible. He laid the foundation of his great work in 1753: his first volume was published in 1776; and the whole was completed in 1780. He had published proposals, in the year 1760, for printing, by subscription, a new edition of the Hebrew Bible,

* Mr. Sharp's controversy with Dr. Kennicott, in the part of his undertaking here mentioned, appears to be an anecdote unknown to Dr. K.'s biographers. The letters, which passed on this occasion, are preserved among Mr. Sharp's *Correspondence*.

conformably to one of the best editions already published, and for inserting in the margin the Various Readings of other editions, and such corrections as the text appeared to require in many different passages*. During the progress of the subscription, however, he appears to have in part relinquished his original design, for the more hazardous undertaking of printing a Hebrew Bible with such corrections of the text as he thought necessary, and, in vindication of this plan, to have printed the Catalogue above mentioned.

The proofs of corruption in the text, he grounded on a comparison between Ezra's account of the sacred vessels, with the account given of the same in the book of Esdras; and he affixed, as a motto to his work, the following sentence, "Non potest verum asseri, quod ita diversum est."

This paper fell into Granville's hands, and produced the short tract which forms the commencement of his literary labours. His motives for printing it are thus modestly expressed by himself in the introductory part:

"Having received from a friend, for whom I have a particular esteem, a printed paper, which had been sent to him by Dr. Kennicott, entitled, 'A Catalogue of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews who returned at first

* The original Proposals are, I believe, in the Library of the British Museum.

from the Captivity,' &c. &c.; and, being desired to return the said paper after perusing it, I thought I could not handsomely do so, without sending my opinion of it at the same time. The nature of the subject is, indeed, so foreign to my own business and way of life, that I should scarcely have presumed to meddle with it, had not a point of good manners first induced me to do so; but afterwards, when I had considered Dr. Kennicott's manner of expressing himself in the title of this Catalogue, I thought myself obliged, through a desire of vindicating the holy Scriptures, to apply as closely to the examination of this charge against them, as my small share of leisure would permit; being apprehensive that this paper might cause such prejudices against the integrity of the text of the Old Testament, as the learned author himself perhaps never conceived, and would be sorry to have occasioned.

"A letter, which was the result of this examination, was, at my desire, shewn to Dr. Kennicott; but the arguments therein had not sufficient weight to convince him that some apology was necessary to his friends, to prevent their misinterpreting his real design in the said Catalogue, and to remove all appearances of his having charged the present text of the Old Testament with more faults than it really deserves. Not being able, however, to lay aside my apprehensions of the ill effects which might possibly be occasioned by this Catalogue, I have therefore ventured to print some of my remarks upon

it; lest any person, not having leisure to examine it sufficiently, should be led to conceive, that all the differences in names and numbers found therein, are really corruptions in the present text of the Old Testament *."

In the Remarks, he questions the Doctor's authorities and deductions respecting the supposed corruptions of the original text, and examines them by the test of numerous Hebrew names and roots. He then very boldly accuses the learned Hebraist of having drawn his instances of corruption of the text

* The letter to which Mr. Sharp alludes was written to Joseph Wilcocks, Esq., a generous subscriber to Dr. Kennicott's proposed publication. "It was written," says Mr. S., "merely to prevent the Doctor from attempting to correct the Sacred Text, which several of his subsequent publications demonstrated to have been his anxious wish."

In the prefatory part of the same letter, he says; "I should not have presumed to trouble you with my sentiments on Dr. Kennicott's Catalogue, had not my brother told me, that you would expect to hear my opinion of it; and therefore, as no opinion, unless accompanied with the necessary proofs, can signify much, I am under the necessity of troubling you with an epistle more like a pamphlet than a letter: but I trust I may depend on your known generosity and good nature, which will be very ready to overlook any want of method in a young unexperienced writer, especially when he has not of his own accord undertaken the management of such a subject."

The original letter contained much more than was afterwards printed. At the twenty-fifth page of the Manuscript is the following note;—"The next paragraph, and all the remainder of this manuscript, is omitted in the printed copy, as being more suitable for *private admonition* to the Doctor's friends, to prevent him from attempting his plan of correction."

from the *English version only*, without having given himself the trouble of reading the *original*; "which," he adds, "is not less injustice, than if a Judge were to condemn a prisoner merely from the report given by others, without permitting him to appear before him to answer for himself."

This charge he supported with great learning and keenness of criticism. Still, fearful that his motives might be liable to misinterpretation, he adds, in the conclusion of the same tract;—

"Now, lest my censure of this Catalogue should seem to strike obliquely at Dr. Kennicott's present undertaking *of collating the Hebrew Manuscripts*, which has been honoured with the subscriptions of so many great and learned persons, I think it necessary, for my own sake, as well as in justice to Dr. Kennicott, to declare, that I think his collation of Hebrew Manuscripts a very laudable and useful undertaking; and that there cannot be the least objection to his new edition of the Hebrew Bible, *if printed according to the Proposals offered by him in the year* 1760 — viz. 'not with a new text, but from one of the best editions already published, having the Various Readings inserted at the bottom of every page.'"

In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Percy*, he offers a further apology for his arduous undertaking.

* Probably, the late Bishop of Dromore, author of the "Key to the New Testament," &c.

"Dear Sir, "23d March, 1768.

"I return two of the books (Dr. Kennicott's) which you were so obliging as to leave for me. I should not so soon have finished the perusal, had I not thought myself particularly interested in the subject, and therefore was tempted to sit up great part of one night on purpose to read them.

"I never contended for the absolute integrity of the printed Hebrew Bibles; and I have always been thoroughly sensible of the utility of Dr. Kennicott's undertaking, if it be confined to the publication of the Various Readings, according to his printed Proposals in 1760. But the Doctor, since that time, as well as before, has frequently discovered too earnest a desire of altering the text itself, and has made several attempts to persuade his subscribers that this is a necessary measure. His last publication, 'Observations on the first Book of Samuel, vi. 19,' is upon the same plan. I don't pretend to justify the reading which he rejects. It appears to me, from the style, as well as the context, to be superfluous; and the authorities produced by the Doctor, from manuscripts, seem to confirm the same.

"But this discovery (though many others of the same kind should be added to it) will not justify the Doctor, in receding from his former proposals for a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, viz. *not with a new text*, but *from one of the best editions already published*. Nevertheless, in page 18 of his last Observations, he says, 'To alter without authority the passages of Scripture which have been objected to, can by no means be justified. But, then, it is equally certain that the printed copies of the Bible are entitled to the same advantages of fair correction which the printed copies of all other ancient books are allowed to receive.' And in his last page he says, 'But though un-

believers, who urge such objections as are founded in the mistakes of transcribers, are herein *less to blame* than those *believers* who do not wish that such mistakes *may be corrected*, yet,' &c.

"Now, I readily acknowledge myself to be one of those believers who are absolutely averse to the permitting of any corrections or alterations at all from the present text of the best printed copies; and therefore must, of course, be subject to the Doctor's comparison before quoted, 'that unbelievers are herein less to blame than myself.' But, in behalf of myself and others under the same censure, I think it necessary to observe, that, though some readings shall be clearly proved wrong, yet the difficulty of finding proper arbitrators to determine whether they are so or not, will render the correcting of such readings a matter of very dangerous tendency. If some are corrected which are really wrong, others, which are not so, will likewise be in danger, merely because they are misunderstood. Indeed, I think it impossible to set proper bounds to a liberty of correcting or altering the text; for if the Doctor's subscribers should permit him to do so, they will lay a foundation for many more corruptions and interpolations than are at present to be found therein. The Doctor's attempts to show the necessity of correcting the text have in general furnished us with very sufficient objections against it; for many readings, which he, and some of his most *learned friends*, would have made no scruple of rejecting or altering in the text, because they supposed them *clearly proved wrong*, have since been as clearly vindicated.

"My objections to this measure have always been uniform; and I have taken the liberty to send for your perusal some manuscripts, which I flatter myself will justify my present sentiments of this matter.

"I am," &c. &c.

Dr. Kennicott objected to the "Remarks" as unfair, on the ground that the author of them had attacked a proposal which had never been published. This objection was answered by Mr. Sharp, by stating, that "he meant only to *print* his *Remarks* as Dr. Kennicott had *printed his Proposals*, and to advertise, that any person, in possession of the Doctor's *Catalogue*, might receive *gratis* a small book of Remarks proper to accompany it."

Several letters which passed between Dr. Kennicott and Mr. Sharp (preserved among the papers of the latter) elucidate the progress of their controversy. Their differences were referred to Dr. Lowth, whose observations, and Mr. Sharp's reply to them, were printed in a second edition of the Remarks. The following passage, in a letter from a mutual friend, shews the final event of the contest.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Dear Sir, "Cambridge, July 30, 1770.

"Dr. Kennicott, since I received the favour of yours, has dispersed Proposals for preparing for the press the Various Readings collected from the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament. You have probably seen them before this time. In these, he declares his design to be, to print an edition of the Hebrew Bible, containing at the top of each page the printed text from Vanderhooght's copy of it, and at the bottom of the page all the Various Readings collected on that part of the text.

"With the truest esteem, &c. &c.

"T. RUTHERFORTH."

This design was exactly in unison with Granville's wishes; and he thus expresses his satisfaction:—"As soon as Dr. Kennicott gave up the point, and agreed to abide by his first proposal, viz. to print his text from an approved copy already published, and to content himself with giving the Various Readings of his Manuscripts in the margin, I gave up all thoughts of printing what I had prepared to oppose him, and subscribed to his work*."

His next literary production, in 1767, appears to have been prompted by a sincere zeal for the

* Mr. Sharp's character breaks forth on this as on every occasion. His strictness in censuring error, and his forbearance and desire of not offending the object of his censures, went hand in hand. In a letter to his brother, Dr. John Sharp, dated January 1, 1770, he says; "I am just now about finishing another book against Dr. Kennicott, to confute his last dissertation on 1 Sam. vi. 19, which has cost me rather more time from business than I could well afford."

In a farther note, in his letter to Mr. Wilcocks, he says; "G. S. was prepared with confutations to most of Dr. Kennicott's proposed alterations of the text; and as Mr. W. would probably think it right to consult other friends of the Doctor on this serious subject, he thought proper to cut out the name of the writer at the end of the letter."

In a letter to his brother of a later date (1773), he says of his Tract in Defence of the Sacred Text of Ezra and Nehemiah against Dr. Kennicott's Charge of Corruption; "But of this I have but a single copy left; and *it was never published*, through tenderness to Dr. K."

It will further contribute to the illustration of his character, to show, from an otherwise unimportant entry in his Manuscript Notes during his leave of absence from the Ordnance Office,

English Church, whose forms, as well as tenets, he was desirous to recommend on all occasions.

The opportunity which presented itself was the suggestion given to him of a design entertained in Prussia, to introduce the English Liturgy into that kingdom. He knew that his family possessed a singular manuscript account of a similar design formed in a preceding reign, during the life of his grandfather the Archbishop, which had proved abortive from the adverse influence of political connections; and he thought it his duty to submit that account to the Prussian Government, "now that the King had leisure" (as he expresses it) "to think of ecclesiastical matters." He therefore published a little work of 116 pages quarto, in French, which is noticed in Dr. Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and was entitled, "Relation des Mésures qui furent prises dans les Années 1711, 1712, et 1713, pour introduire la Liturgie Anglicane dans le Roiaume de Prusse et dans l'Electorat de Hanover*." It contained authentic copies of several

that his youthful contest with the literary veteran, Dr. Kennicott, did not interrupt the general tenour of amity which so uniformly prevailed in his conduct and behaviour towards all persons;—"August 20, 1775, Sunday, Oxford. Went to church at St. Mary's—went to visit Dr. Kennicott—drank tea with Dr. Kennicott."

* "A small but curious work has lately been published by the descendants of Archbishop Sharp, belonging to the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century which contains 'an

original letters and papers relative to the design mentioned in the title, and a preface, in which the motives for the publication were stated. After making mention of his father's manuscript Life of Archbishop Sharp, from which the publication is extracted, "It now," he adds, "remains to inform the reader, that the grandchildren of Archbishop Sharp, for the instruction of whom the above-mentioned work was compiled, and in whose possession only it now is, have caused this extract to be made, and translated into the French tongue; not for any private purpose whatever, but merely with a friendly design of communicating to those whom it more particularly concerns, some matters relating to the Prussian Church, which they imagine may not now be known in Prussia, because they were brought to light chiefly by means of letters and other original papers preserved in Archbishop Sharp's family; there having been a private correspondence carried on between the Archbishop, and that truly pious and learned man Dr.

account of the measures taken, and the correspondence carried on, in the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, for the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England into the kingdom of Prussia and the Electorate of Hanover.' To this account are annexed several very interesting and original papers of the learned Dr. Jablonski, more especially 'A Plan of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship, and other Papers, concerning the Nature of Episcopacy, and the mode of rendering it compatible with the Interests of the Sovereign and the religious Liberty of the People.' The work is published in a French translation, by the Rev. Mr. Muysson, Minister of the French Chapel at St. James's."—*Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.*

Jablonski *, concerning the business herein related."
—The work was dedicated

"To the most High, the most Mighty, and most
"Excellent Monarch, Frederic III. King of
"Prussia, and Elector of Brandenburg.

"Sir,

"As the following sheets, containing the letters of "an eminent Prussian Divine, relate to a scheme "patronised by your Royal Grandfather, they require "no other apology for being laid at your Majesty's "feet. The descendants of an English Prelate, in "whose hands alone the original papers are lodged, "which are as yet unknown to the world, have pre-"sumed to do this; well knowing that your Majesty "will not judge of the gift by the obscurity of the

* "Le Dr. Daniel Ernest Jablonski étoit Premier Chapelain du Roi de Prusse, et Surintendant de l'Eglise Protestante de Pologne. Il avoit dans sa jeunesse été fort prevenu contre l'Eglise Anglicane, mais ayant fait deux voyages en Angleterre, dans lesquels il sejourna assez long tems à Oxford, ses conversations avec plusieurs de nos Ecclesiastiques, et une étude appliquée de notre Discipline et de notre Liturgie, lui avoient inspiré une veritable admiration pour la constitution de notre Eglise."—*Muysson, Traducteur.*

Dr. Jablonski thus delivers his opinion of our Protestant Church, to a friend (Dr. Nicholls), in a letter dated January 10, 1708.

"..... inde in eâ sententiâ confirmatus fui, Ecclesiam Anglicanam inter omnes Ecclesias Reformatas ad exemplar Ecclesiæ Primitivæ proximè accedere, meritoque audire Sydus in Cœlo Christiano lucidissimum, Decus Reformationis primarium, et Evangelii adversus Papatum propugnaculum firmissimum."

"persons who make it; but that, if there be any "thing in it which can be made conducive to the "public good, your Majesty will bring it to perfec- "tion: under which persuasion it is, with all humi- "lity, offered to your Majesty, AS THE FRIEND OF "MANKIND."

The offering was graciously received by the King; and the work was greatly approved by the clergy both of Prussia and Holland*.

His third publication was "A Short Introduction to Vocal Music," of the merits of which the approbation of men of acknowledged judgment and professional eminence furnishes the most decisive testimony †.

* Some Letters preserved in his *Correspondence* explain the farther course of the transaction.

† *From Joah Bates, Esq. to Granville Sharp, Esq.*

"Dear Sir, "Hinchinbrook, Dec. 27, 1768.

"A party of very musical people are assembled at this place, most of whom are very desirous of improving themselves in the art of singing at sight. It was natural for me to mention to them your little Treatise, as the best calculated for this purpose of any thing I had ever seen; and curiosity is so greatly raised, that I promised to write to you, and beg the favour of one or two copies, if you have any to spare. Besides considerably improving the art itself, you will make a great many people happy, and we shall all be bound to remember you with gratitude.

"With best respects," &c.

"JOAH BATES."

A no less valuable testimony from our eminent native com-

His fourth work, "On the Pronunciation of the English Tongue," was printed in the year 1767. He gives the following account of it in a letter to his brother, Dr. John Sharp, dated January 3, 1786.

"The few hours of leisure that I was able to spare from business, in September and October last, were chiefly spent in drawing up a short treatise on the English Tongue, to render the reading and pronunciation of the same more easy to Foreigners. Dr. Gregory Sharp, Dr. Birch, and my brothers here, have read, and approve of it, and advise me to print it. Dr. Sharp would have me print it in Latin, French, and English.

"I believe the whole (except the preface) may, when printed, be contained in a sheet of paper.

"Dr. Lowth does not treat upon the English pronunciation in his Grammar; neither do I know of any author that has (except Wallis) to any purpose. An honest Scotchman, Mr. Buchanan, has indeed lately attempted it, but with so many refinements by way of polite pronunciation, that he makes it ten times more difficult and irregular than it really is. Wherefore I flatter myself that my little treatise will be the more acceptable to the public, especially as the extreme difficulty and uncertainty of the English pronunciation is universally complained of," &c. &c.

poser, Mr. Shield, will be found in the *Appendix*, containing, in addition to several interesting anecdotes, a critical examination of the "Introduction to Vocal Music." The reader is referred to it both for amusement and instruction.

There are two separate editions of this work; one in English only, and one in English and French *.

In 1768, he published a tract entitled "Remarks on several important Prophecies." The immediate motives of this publication are not known to his friends. He describes it, in the catalogue of his works, only as "written in answer to Dr. W—ms." Its object is, to defend the received interpretation of certain passages, in the Prophetical Writings, which declare the miraculous birth of Christ †.

His two next works have been already mentioned. He edited "A short Account of that Part of Africa "inhabited by Negroes" (originally printed in America), "and of the Endeavours of the Society "for Propagating the Gospel to instruct Negro "Slaves in New York;" adding to his publication, "A Conclusion, by the Editor:" and to this succeeded the celebrated "Representation of the In-"justice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating "Slavery in England, 1769."

* By what methods he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of French to venture on a publication in that language, is uncertain; but in the correspondence which he afterward carried on with the principal members of the first French Revolution, the rough copies of some letters, entirely in French, with great alterations and interlinings in his own hand-writing, prove him to have possessed a considerable knowledge of that tongue.

† See "Additional Notes" at the end of *Appendix*.

In the year 1771 appeared a tract on a subject entirely distinct from any yet mentioned. It is called "Remarks concerning the Encroachments on "the River Thames near Durham Yard," and is noticed by him in a letter, already quoted, to Dr. Rutherforth:—"One public affair has likewise taken up some of my time; viz. the rights of the city of London upon the river Thames, which, as a citizen, I am bound by oath to maintain. A little tract on this point I am now printing."

In 1772 he printed "An Appendix" to the Representation against Slavery.

Similar motives to those just described by himself, springing from a sense of social duty, gave rise to his next production, "On Duelling;" of which he gives the following account to his friend Benezet:

[EXTRACT.] 7th January, 1774.

"Towards the end of last summer, when I had set about to finish my tracts, I was undesignedly drawn off by a particular subject, the pernicious practice of duelling; which occurred to me in the course of one of my tracts, viz. that relating to the 'Necessity of Submission to Personal Injuries,' in which it was proposed to show the true meaning of the several texts usually cited for the lawfulness of *slavery among Christians*.

"My intention, indeed, was only to touch lightly on *duelling*; but, in examining the subject, I found it so perplexed with contradictions, and false precedents cited by the law writers, that I was gradually and imperceptibly led

on by the importance of the subject to canvass it thoroughly; and at length, on account of some violent disputes and personal abuse among our magistrates in the city, I thought it my duty as speedily as possible to print my Remarks on it in a separate tract."

MS. 'September 3, 1773.—Sent to the press my 'book on Crown Law, respecting the due distinc-'tion between murder and manslaughter.

'October 7.—Sent copies to the twelve Judges, 'the Recorder, the Lord Mayor; also to Aldermen 'Sawbridge, Oliver, Wither; and Mr. M. Lovell.'

The year 1774 produced a work which has been also mentioned; viz. "A Declaration of the People's "natural Rights to a Share in the Legislature."

The *motives* have been given in the Manuscript minutes, in which the account is thus continued:—

"This Declaration was reprinted even in the same year, 1774, in almost every part of America, at the very time that the British Government had most fatally determined to enforce its unconstitutional and unjust pretensions, and thereby incurred an extraordinary national punishment,—even the forfeiture of all the colonies which they had intended to oppress, together with an immense loss of lives and a most ruinous expense!

"Such are the baneful effects of yielding to the false political suggestions of the prince of this world

and his spiritual agents! The providential effect of the wicked notions which, through a fatal delusion, have prevailed in the cabinets of princes, is completely contrary to their political expectations. For they conceive that there is (what they call) an *imperial necessity*, or a *political expediency*, for adopting illegal and unjust measures. But they are not aware that such measures always produce the very mischiefs which they hoped to prevent by them, and draw down the Divine vengeance declared in the 64th Psalm: 'They imagine wickedness, and practise it; but God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow; yea, their own tongues shall make them fall; and all men that see it shall say, 'This hath God done! for they shall perceive that it is his work!' ver. 7, 8, and 9*."

* On the occasion of this work he received the following lines from —— Payne, Esq., one of the Directors of the Bank of England.

"TO MR. GRANVILLE SHARP,

"*On reading his late instructive and excellent Book, entitled 'A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature, as the fundamental Principle of the British Constitution of State.'*

"Wise, learned, meek, with reverential love
Of God's just laws, and love of man inform'd,
O may thy labours by the midnight lamp
Pour day's effulgence on thy country's darkness;
Teach lawyers rectitude; teach statesmen truth;
Teach tyrants justice; and the village hind,
Lord of his little freehold, teach to prize
His personal importance, and to deem
His own rights sacred as the rights of monarchs!

In the year following he published another tract (or rather an enlarged edition of the last mentioned) entitled, "A Declaration of the People's natural "Rights to a Share in the Legislature, against the "Attempts to tax America, and to make Laws for "her against her Consent:" and again, in 1775, "A Declaration of the People's Rights to a Share "in the Legislature; containing a Defence both of "America and Ireland, and stating the Illegality "of those declaratory Acts of Parliament called "*Poining's Acts.*"—The latter tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1776.

The three works last mentioned contain his sentiments on Parliamentary elections.

"The Law of Retribution;" "The just Limi-"tation of Slavery in the Laws of God, with a

But should the voice of warning not be heard;
Should this devoted nation, left of God,
Worship hell's blackest dæmon, lawless pow'r,
And, driv'n by pride and wrath, precipitate,
Through streams of kindred blood, her hasty strides
To the dark gulph of dissolution—then,
O then, may thy just spirit, self-approv'd
In its past efforts, with the eye of faith,
Awful, yet calm, behold the signal vengeance,
And on the spotless wing of liberty
Rise uncorrupted to its native heaven!"

Over these verses is written, in red ink—
"*Mem.* A seasonable warning to G. S., not of what he is, but what he ought to be."

"Plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery in the "Colonies;" "The Law of Passive Obedience;" and, "The Law of Liberty," all the produce of the year 1776*, close the account of Granville's literary progress up to the period at which he resigned his employment under the Government; and the whole, when combined with the zealous and effective public action which we have contemplated, forms a mass of important exertions, scarcely within the bounds of credibility in the life of a diligent clerk in ordinary in the Minuting Office of the Ordnance.

During his progress in literary industry, the severity of his studies had no power to abstract him from the enjoyment of the most social relaxations. A barge on the Thames, long known to the circle of his friends for its festive hospitality, and particularly as a scene of musical delight, begins to occupy a place in his MS. notes, from the August of 1775, immediately on his obtaining his first leave of absence from the Ordnance Board. The history even of his amusements cannot be told without adding to the dignity of his character. The barge appears, from his memoranda of various dates, to have been the resort not only of men of the most eminent talents and skill, but also of those of the highest and most distinguished rank. It was occasionally crowded with

* See the account of these tracts in *Part III. Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Foreign Ambassadors: it received on board at one time the Minister, and at another the Sovereign, of England; — to such distinction the virtues of the possessors had entitled them, and such was the deference shewn to the integrity of Granville, even while he was strenuously contending against the measures of the Cabinet in the momentous point of our American contest*.

* To the inhabitants of the banks of the Thames the subjoined recollections will be interesting.

The *Union Yacht* was built in 1775; seventy feet long, and thirteen feet six inches wide; forty-five tons burthen. Several other vessels were afterwards added, till they formed a little fleet, which was usually moored off the Bishop of London's Stairs, at Fulham. Three of the vessels were named after the daughters of the family—viz. a chaloup, *The Jemima;* a smaller ditto, *The Catherine;* a canoe, *The Mary.* A fourth was called *The Apollo,* which had a large commodious cabin, and was used for sailing, rowing, and towing. A picture, painted by Zoffany, represented the whole family sitting in this latter vessel.

The Union was constantly inhabited (except in the depth of winter) by Mr. and Mrs. William Sharp, till the death of Mr. James Sharp, when the surviving brothers took no longer any delight in their boats; and the yacht was put up to auction, but was bought in, from an apprehension that it would be converted into a sort of *tavern on the water;* and it was finally broken up.

An account of the musical entertainments of this singular barge is given in Mr. Shield's letter on the "Introduction to Vocal Music." (See Appendix.) A few notices of its visitors are here selected from Mr. Sharp's notes.

MS. 1775. August 2d.—Went up in the barge with Sir Thomas and Lady Halifax (the Lord and Lady Mayoress),

Nor had his unwearied performance of duties of every kind precluded an attention to his favourite

'&c. to Richmond, where we met the City Committee for 'Thames Navigation, and proceeded with them to Staines.

'4th August. Returned to Kew, where we serenaded the 'King and Queen, Prince of Wales, and Bishop of Osnaburgh; 'the Committee standing all the time on the deck of the great 'city barge, with their hats off. His Majesty was very gracious 'and condescending to us.'

'1777. August 29. Went up the river in my brother's new 'yacht, with a large band of music. When we fell down 'opposite to the King's garden, we saw their Majesties, and 'several of the Royal Family, in a garden carriage; who 'drove down to the Queen's Oak, and stopped for near an 'hour, while we played a variety of music, songs, glees, &c. 'We then took our leave, by giving three cheers, and playing '*The Retreat*, &c. &c.—On the 1st September, had the honour 'of receiving their Majesties the King and Queen on board the 'yacht for about an hour.—On Sunday, September 7, we had 'sacred music in the evening at Lady Onslow's, Old Windsor, 'assisted by the Duke of Cumberland, who played the violin. '—On Monday morning, Lady Onslow, Lady Holland, and 'her little son Lord Holland, and Miss Fox, came on board; 'and afterwards, Lady Mary O'Brien, Miss Haviland, Miss 'Banks, Miss Crew, and much more company, and stopped to 'see the race at Runney Mead from the quarter-deck. We 'got to Hampton that night. The next morning Mr. Garrick 'breakfasted with us; and we afterwards took up Mrs. Garrick 'and her company, &c. At Twickenham, we took up Sir 'George Pocock and family, Lady Shelburne, Lady Litchfield, 'the Princess Masserino, her son the Marquis of ———, and 'daughter, Mr. Cambridge, &c. We had the honour once 'more to serenade their Majesties at Richmond for a consider-'able time, till it began to grow dark.'

'16th October. A large party from Putney came to break-'fast with us; afterwards the Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth,

pursuits of science and taste, or the exercise of those talents which enabled him to prosecute them.

The cultivation of musical learning was customary in Mr. Sharp's family. He himself loved the theory and enjoyed the practice of music, as adapted to devotional purposes. He was not, nor did he aim at being, a tasteful performer; and the most studied *execution* gave him little pleasure. Singing and playing at sight were his favourite recreations. He

'and his two daughters, came on board; and, when they were 'gone, the Lord Mayor elect, and the Committee of the Thames 'Navigation, came on board.'

'14th November. Received the Duke and Duchess of Glou- 'cester, and the little Princess their daughter, on board the 'yacht, where they drank chocolate, and staid above two hours 'with us.'

'1778. August 22d. On board my brother's yacht, we en- 'tertained six Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers—viz. the 'Spanish, Sardinian (and his Lady), Imperial, Danish, Portu- 'guese, and Genoese—also the Count de Ravando, a Spanish 'Nobleman; M. Daguano, the Spanish Chargè d'Affaires; the 'Chevalier d'Elcarano, the Spanish Secretary; Lady Caermar- 'then and Lady Anna Maria Stanhope, &c. &c.: all of whom 'dined aboard. In the afternoon, Lord and Lady North and 'family, and the Bishop of Cloyne and his Lady, came on 'board, and drank tea. Lord North's company went on board 'their own boat in the evening, and the Ambassadors, and the 'rest of the company, were landed at Kew Ferry.—Sunday 'morning went to Ealing church. Next day, Prince William, 'and Prince Edward, with their tutors, came on board to see 'the yacht.'

It appears by another memorandum, that the entertainment given to the Foreign Ministers (mentioned in the last paragraph) was at the particular request of Lord North!

had a good bass voice; and played on the common English flute, clarionet, oboe, and double-flute*. He had constructed (if not invented) a harp with two rows of strings, called a traverse harp, on which he accompanied his own voice in singing. At the Sunday evening concerts, which were held alternately at the houses of his brothers James and William, he beat the kettle-drums. Those concerts consisted wholly of performances of sacred music, in which voices and instruments were united to sound the praises of the Supreme Being. The family band was augmented by the gratuitous assistance of the most eminent professional performers.

To his knowledge of musical composition, Mr. S. added a considerable degree of skill in caricature drawing, which, though with many it proves a dangerous possession, is capable, when well governed, of affording a high and innocent gratification. The following short extracts will shew under what regulations it was indulged.

(From a Letter to Dr. ——.)

"With the books which I promised, I send a few copies of my 'Quaker's Meeting.' You have seen, I believe the original. I drew it a great many years ago, merely

* His performance on the *double-flute* has been thus noticed by Mr. Shield: "This mode of performance was new in England. A pupil of Mr. Shield (Foster) afterwards adopted the instrument, and performed on it with great applause, in an overture composed by Mr. Shield for the opera of 'The Noble Peasant.'"

with pen and ink; and it was lately etched by a young gentleman who studies in the King's Academy, who has aimed at giving, *both to this* and *the glee*, the same rough and careless appearance of pen-and-ink drawings."

(From a Letter to Dr. Fothergill.)

"If any of the Quakers should have seen some juvenile performances of mine in caricature, I hope they will believe that I only meant to expose their useless formalities in general, and not at all to affront individuals. I made no use of those drawings till above fifteen years after they were taken, lest they should give any personal offence; which, I think, they could not be liable to do so long afterwards, if we consider the great change in the appearance of men and things which such a number of years must necessarily produce."

In this class of humour may be mentioned a pen-and-ink sketch of his own *initial signature* in musical characters.—

The reader has thus beheld, in one view, Mr. Sharp's general character and conduct throughout the first important period of his life. It appeared advisable, for that purpose, to give the account of his various exertions respecting the *Negro* causes, which form the first distinguishing feature of his history, without any material interruption (inserting

only such collateral and nearly congenial incidents, as the energy of his action forbad to be passed in silence*); and to add a brief notice of the works written by him during the prosecution of his public purposes, and during his employment in office. In the remaining part of these Memoirs, his various publications will be either mentioned as they occurred in order of time, or reserved for the reader's notice in Mr. Sharp's own catalogue.

But an anecdote of singular interest yet belongs to the period which we are just passing;—an additional example of unwearied diligence in imparting benefits to others.

In the year 1775, Omai, a native of Ulaietea, one of the South-Sea Islands, having been brought to England by Captain Furneaux, in his Majesty's sloop Adventure, Mr. Sharp was no sooner apprised of the circumstance than he expressed a desire of communicating to him a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and earnestly sought an introduction to him, by means of his friends Mr. Joah Bates and Dr. Jekyll, as appears by the following extracts:

Joah Bates, Esq. to Mr. Wm. Sharp.

"*Postscript.* Pray tell your brother Granville that I will not forget his commission about Omai. If it should

* One note remains to be transcribed.—

MS. 'April 17, 1773. Poor Jonathan Strong, the first Negro 'whose freedom I had procured in 1767, died this morning.'

This Negro appears to have constantly received, and well deserved, Mr. Sharp's humane protection.

be practicable to bring about an interview between them, it will give me great pleasure, as well as himself."

G. S. to Joah Bates, Esq. in reply.

"I am much obliged to you for what you mention about Omai. I don't think myself capable of expressing myself properly to him in discourse, for I have no talent at talking; but when I have an opportunity of being acquainted with him, I mean to consult the Bishop of Llandaff about some proper person to explain some of the first principles of our religion to him."

Dr. Jekyll to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "Saturday, 17th Feb. 1776.

"Your anxiety for poor Omai is consistent with the characteristic benevolence of your family. But if the representations made of him to me are just, I fear that you will have more difficulties than that of language to encounter. At the same time, I think that the present peace and eternal welfare of a fellow-creature (and perhaps of hundreds through him) is an object of importance sufficient to support a Christian in the most arduous undertaking.

"I shall be happy in attending you on Monday morning, and wish it may be in my power to contribute to the charitable work.

"Dear Sir," &c.

"JOHN JEKYLL."

Mr. Sharp's manuscript notes give, as usual, a concise account of the interviews which took place.

MS. '1776. February 12th. Being desirous to 'give some instructions to the native of Ulaietea,

'one of the South Sea Islands, I called this day 'on Mr. Bates, at the Admiralty, on that subject. 'Lord Sandwich gave his consent; and from thence 'I waited on Mr. Banks.

'19th. With Mr. Banks and Omai, by appoint-'ment.

'14th. Omai with me at the Old Jewry. [Mr. William Sharp's house.]

'17th. Called on Omai for about two hours.

'18th. Omai with me in Leadenhall Street. [Mr. James Sharp's.]—'Dr. Jekyll in the afternoon.

'20th, 21st, 22d, 26th, and March 2d. Visited 'Omai all these days with Dr. Jekyll.

'March 5th. Omai for about three quarters of an 'hour.

'8th. Omai came for three hours; and 9th, for 'two hours with Dr. Jekyll.

'11th and 13th. Omai for two hours.

'26th. Omai called, but had no time for a lesson.

'28th and April 4th. Omai for a very short time.

'6th. Omai was so taken up with engagements 'that I could have no more opportunity of giving 'him lessons, which were but fifteen in all. How-'ever, in that time I taught him the use of English 'letters, and made him sound every combination of 'vowels and consonants that letters are capable of: 'and he afterwards wrote a letter to Dr. Solander, 'from the Cape of Good Hope, in his own tongue, 'but English letters.'

The noble object in Granville's mind, in his attention to Omai, is sufficiently evident. He not only felt a deep concern for the individual proselyte, but perceived an inlet opened, by his means, for the diffusion of Christian light over a new race of men; and he was anxious to suffer no moment for redemption to be lost. The knowledge of our language was the preliminary step*: and though his short notes do not take notice of any other topic than that of instruction in the English tongue, there remains no doubt that he diligently pursued his design of explaining to his pupil, as far as circumstances would suffer him, the divine truths of our Religion, and the several duties which it enjoins.

Of one of his conversations with Omai he has left the following singular relation, of which it may be doubted whether the sense, simplicity, or virtue

* It will appear from the following extract, that his treatise on the Pronunciation of the English Language, published 1767, must have undergone considerable revision at this period.—

G. S. to the Rev. Dr. Bourke, Dean of Ossory.

"I believe that the difficulty of learning to read may be much reduced by proper rules of pronunciation, which in general are totally neglected; for nothing is more absurd and arbitrary than the usual mode of applying the sounds of the vowels to syllables in spelling, without laying down previous rules concerning the variation of the sounds in different combinations of the letters. It is this want of method which makes the English language so exceedingly difficult to foreigners. I took some pains on this subject, for the sake of instructing Omai; and I afterwards printed the work, for the use of the Negro children at Sierra Leone," &c. &c.

be most to be admired. It is extracted from an Address to the Maroons in the new English settlement at Sierra Leone, delivered to Mr. Dawes, the governor, at the Court of Directors, November 13, 1800; on the subject of their polygamy.

....." With respect to the particular point upon which I now address you, it was this 'perfect law of liberty*' which enabled me, many years ago (in March 1776), to convince a Pagan native of the very distant island of Ulaietea, Mr. Omai, a *Black man*, who by custom and education entertained as inveterate prejudices in favour of keeping several wives, as any Maroon or African whatsoever. But though he was entirely ignorant of our religion, yet he had a good share of that natural knowledge of good and evil which is inherited by all mankind since the fall of our first common parents;—a knowledge which they wilfully took upon themselves, contrary to God's command, and which, of course, has rendered every man guilty before God, because we do not always act consistently with that assumed knowledge; which, however, may direct us to regain what we have lost, if we persevere in making a right

* "So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty." *James* ii. 12. "Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein....shall be blessed in his deed." *Idem* i. 25.

"This title, the *perfect law of liberty*," Mr. Sharp says, "properly belongs to the whole Law or Gospel of Christ, and seems to be so applied by the Apostle."

use of it, by choosing the good and rejecting the evil; but more especially by choosing and preferring, before all other considerations, the supreme good, which includes a perfect love of God, and a grateful acceptance of the means he has freely given us to partake of the Divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), and become sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ. (Rom. viii. 14—19; 1 John iii. 2.)

"This is the first branch of the *perfect law of liberty;* and we cannot possibly attain it, if we neglect to measure our conduct towards our neighbours by the second branch of the same *royal law* *; which enabled Mr. Omai (when it was fairly stated to him upon the case in question) to condemn, with full conviction of the truth, the injustice of his former opinions against the rights of women.

"When sitting with him at table one day after dinner, I thought it a good opportunity to explain to him the Ten Commandments. I proceeded with tolerable success in reciting the first six Commandments. He had nothing to object against any of them, though many explications were required before he understood all the terms; and he freely nodded his assent. But when I recited the seventh Commandment, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' he said, 'Adultery! what that? what that?'

"'Not to commit adultery,' I said, 'is, that, if

* "..... The royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." *James* ii. 8.

a man has got one wife, he must not take another wife, or any other woman.'—'Oh!' says he, 'two wives—very good; three wives—very, very good.' —'No, Mr. Omai,' I said, 'not so; that would be contrary to the first principle of the law of nature.' —'First principle of the law of nature,' said he; 'what that? what that?'—'*The first principle of the law of nature*,' I said, 'is, that *no man must do to another person any thing that he would not like to be done to himself*. And, for example, Mr. Omai,' said I, 'suppose you have got a wife that you love very much; you would not like that another man should come to love your wife.' This raised his indignation: he put on a furious countenance, and a threatening posture, signifying that he would kill any man that should meddle with his wife. 'Well, Mr. Omai,' said I, 'suppose, then, that your wife loves you very much; she would not like that you should love another woman: for the women have the same passions, and feelings, and love toward the men, that we have toward the women; and we ought, therefore, to regulate our behaviour toward them by our own feelings of what we should like and expect of faithful love and duty from them toward ourselves.'

"This new state of the case produced a deep consideration and silence, for some time, on the part of Mr. Omai. But he soon afterwards gave me ample proof that he thoroughly comprehended the due influence of the law of liberty, when it is applied

to regulate, by our own feelings, the proper conduct and behaviour which we owe to other persons. There was an ink-stand on the table, with several pens in it. He took one pen, and laid it on the table, saying, 'There lies Lord S——' (a Nobleman with whom he was well acquainted, and in whose family he had spent some time); and then he took another pen, and laid it close by the side of the former pen, saying, 'and there lies Miss W——' (who was an accomplished young woman in many respects, but, unhappily for herself, she lived in a state of adultery with that nobleman); and he then took a third pen, and placing it on the table at a considerable distance from the other two pens, as far as his right arm could extend, and at the same time leaning his head upon his left hand, supported by his elbow on the table, in a pensive posture, he said, 'and there lie Lady S——, and cry!'

"Thus it is plain that he thoroughly understood the force of the argument from the law of liberty, respecting the gross injury done to the married lady by her husband in taking another woman to his bed.

"There was no need to explain the rights of women any farther to Mr. Omai on that occasion."

To the record contained in this First Part of the Memoirs belongs also the notice of some circum-

stances respecting the *Colliers* and *Salters* in Scotland, in whose behalf Mr. Sharp was consulted by one of the Advocates for the amelioration of their condition *. Some letters on the subject, dated December 1772, appear in his Correspondence, and demonstrate that there was no concern of humanity in which he was not ready to take an active interest. He might, with as much truth probably as any man that ever lived, have said, in the words of Terence's *Chremes*,

"Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto."

* See "Additional Notes," at the end of *Appendix*.

MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART II.

American Episcopacy.

ACQUAINTANCE WITH GENERAL OGLETHORPE — CAUSE OF IMPRESSED CITIZENS — ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES — ORIGIN OF THE FIRST MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE — CORRESPONDENCE ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORMATION—RENEWAL OF EFFORTS FOR RECONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES. — VARIOUS CONCERNS.

ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY IN AMERICA, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. — PROMOTION OF LEARNING AND RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGES.

THE SHIP ZONG.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES — HONOURS CONFERRED BY THEM ON MR. SHARP.

PART II.

1776.

CHAP. I.

MR. SHARP had now attained his forty-first year.

The commencement of his public action had scattered too many seeds of important consequences to leave him long in the retirement of literary study. Nay, his writings themselves, as they were never unconnected with existing circumstances, were all calculated to draw him speedily back to public view. It has been mentioned that they had procured him the knowledge and the regard of Dr. Franklin, and of other persons of eminent repute; and he now owed to them an acquaintance with a military man, whose esteem for his political and religious principles led to important consequences in his fortunes.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

(Received at Wicken Park, Thursday, 26th September, 1776.)

[EXTRACT.]

"Sir, "Cranham Hall, by Grays.

"Being at Woolston Hall, Dr. Scott's house, he showed

me your 'Law of Retribution.' I was greatly rejoiced to find that so laborious and learned a man had appeared as champion for the rights of mankind, against avarice, extortion, and inhumanity;—that you had, with an heroic courage, dared to press home, on an infidel, luxurious world, the dreadful threats of the Prophets. The ruins of Babylon, Memphis, and Tyre, are strong mementos to a Paris, a London, and a Lisbon, of the retribution paid to those who fat their luxuries on the labour of wretched slaves.

"The Portuguese were the first of the Western Christians who allowed slavery; whose adventurers stole men from Guinea, and sold them for slaves. On *Lisbon* the *first* example has been showed: an unnatural war between our race in America and in Europe, seems to give the *second:* you fairly open the Prophets, a *third* admonition *.

"I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

"JAMES OGLETHORPE."

G. S. in reply to James Oglethorpe, Esq. Cranham Hall.

[EXTRACT.]

"Sir, "Wicken Park, 27th Sept. 1776.

"Though my poor attempts to warn the public of approaching evils should prove too weak to effect such a

* A singular coincidence of circumstances with this passage in General Oglethorpe's letter will not fail to strike all whose minds, like his, are accustomed to contemplate the hand of Providence in sublunary events. Of the three great cities here mentioned, two are stated (Lisbon and London) as already apparent examples of retributory justice. The sufferings of France have succeeded.

timely reformation as may be necessary to avert the judgments against national injustice and humanity, yet it is no small recompence and satisfaction for my labour (next to the sense of having thereby discharged my own duty to my country) to find that my endeavours are approved by sincere lovers of justice, whose influence and example, in promoting the public good at every opportunity, I am sure will not be wanting.

"Three other Tracts were intended to precede that which you have mentioned, on the Law of Retribution, although the superior diligence of the printer who undertook it caused it to be the first distributed amongst my friends. Of these*, and also of some former tracts, I request your acceptance, as a small token of my sincere esteem for a gentleman who professes (though otherwise unknown to me) so great a regard for justice, humanity, and national reformation.

"If you should find any thing in those several tracts (respecting the *dignity of human nature*, and the *natural rights of mankind*), which seems to want further confirmation or explanation, I must request you to suspend your judgment till you receive two which are now in the press —viz.: one on the *Law of Nature* and *Principles of Action* in Men; and the other on the *Case of Saul*. These contain the principal grounds and foundation of human rights (asserted in the former works), and will demonstrate, I trust, beyond all possibility of reply, the extreme danger of infringing them, by pointing out the dangerous state of probation in which every man is placed in this life, and the absolute necessity that is laid upon us

* 1. "The just Limitation of Slavery by the Laws of God;" —2. "The Law of Passive Obedience;"—3. "The Law of Liberty."

all (on account of man's hereditary knowledge of good and evil) to maintain God's eternal laws of *justice* and *mutual benevolence*.

" With great esteem, Sir," &c. &c.

The remaining Correspondence should be reserved (agreeably to the plan of this narrative) for another occasion; but, as the following letter contains anecdotes, from his own pen, of a distinguished man, of whom no account, of equal authority, has appeared in public, it is too curious to be deferred.—

General Oglethorpe to Granville Sharp.

" Sir, " Cranham Hall, Oct. 13, 1776.

" With great pleasure I received the favour of yours of 27th September, and since, several excellent tracts of your composing, which I have read with much satisfaction, as they all point to the great end of life,—the honour of God and love of our neighbour. You have, with great judgment, showed the threats of the Prophets against the slave-owners and slave-sellers. As I have not the happiness of being known to you, it is necessary to tell you I am the person you will find mentioned in Harris's Collections (the last edition in two fol.), and in Smollet's, in Rolt, and all the histories of that time.

" My friends and I settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees, to make laws, &c. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave-merchants, and their adherents, occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favour them. We would not suffer slavery (which is against the Gospel as well as the fundamental law of

England) to be authorised under our authority: we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The Government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent.

"As you will find me in the history of those times, you will find me also in the present list of the army; and, when you come to Town, I shall be very glad to see you in Grosvenor Street, where I live in London, as I do *here* in the country.

"This cruel custom of a private man's being supported in exercising more power over the man he affirms to have bought as a slave, than the magistrate has over him, the master, is a solecism in politics. This, I think, was taken from the Romans. The horrid cruelty which that proud nation showed in all they did, gave such power to the masters of slaves, that they confused even the State. Decius Brutus, by the gladiators his slaves, defended the conspirators that killed the Dictator, Cæsar. The cruelty of the slave-masters occasioned them to join Spartacus, who almost overturned Rome.—Their laws were so severe, and the master's powers so horrid, that (Tacitus says) four hundred slaves, entirely innocent, were put to death, because two slaves had murdered their master; and he justifies this step. A Roman threw his old and useless slaves into a pond, where he kept fish, to feed them up to an excellent taste; and their laws did not contradict it.

"I find in Sir Walter Rawleigh's history of the Saracens, that *their* success, and the destruction of the Grecian and Persian Empires, was chiefly owing to their having vast numbers of slaves, by whom all labour and husbandry were carried on. And, on the Mahometans giving freedom

to all who professed their law, the multitude in every conquered province joined them.

"You mention an argument urged by Hume, that the *Africans were incapable of liberty*, and that no man capable of government was ever produced by Africa. What a historian! He must never have heard of Shishak, the great Sesostris, of Hannibal, nor of *Tir-haka* king of Ethiopia, whose very name frightened the mighty Assyrian monarch. (2 Kings xix. 9.) Is it possible he never should have seen Herodotus, where the mighty works of the pyramids, remaining to this day, are mentioned; and, in the ΘΑΛΕΙΑ, the answer of the king of Ethiopia to Cambyses? In Leo, the African,'s geographical description of Africa, he would have found that Africa had produced races of heroes.

"The *Christian* Emperors would have qualified the laws for slavery; but the Senate of Rome, in whom the old leaven of idolatry still prevailed, stopped such good designs. St. Austin, in '*De Civitate Dei*,' mentions that idolatry was sunk into the marrow of the Romans;—that the destruction of Rome by the Goths seemed to be a necessary dispensation of Providence to root out idolatry. The Goths, and all the Northern nations, when converted to Christianity, abolished slavery. The husbandry was performed by men under the protection of the laws. Though some tenures of villeyn were too severe, yet the villeyns had the protection of laws; and their lords could not exact more than was by those laws regulated. (Bracton.)

"Spain and Portugal were subdued by the Moors: afterwards Portugal was recovered by the Christians. The Portuguese carried the war into Africa, discovered the sea-coast of Guinea, brought the unhappy natives

away, and, looking on them as black heathens and hardly men, sold them for slaves.

"The Spaniards imitated them, and declared that Moors and Turks, taken in war, might be held as slaves. But the French still hold the noble law of the Northern nations; they allow no slaves in France: but, alas! it is too true, in their plantations, where the King's will is the only law, Lewis the Fourteenth, by the '*Code-Noir*,' permits and regulates slavery.

"I am exceeding glad that you have entered the lists in opposition to these horrors. It is a proper time to bring these abominable abuses under consideration; and if those who have the power of legislation will be admonished, and correct them, it may save them and us from the justly-menaced destruction.

"Your most obedient," &c. &c.

"J. OGLETHORPE."

Granville's reply must also be added.—

To his Excellency General Oglethorpe.

"Honoured Sir,

"I am not only truly sensible of the honour you have done me in condescending to make yourself known to me: but be assured, Sir, that ever since I read the account of the settlers of Georgia in Harris's Collections, to which you referred me, I have entertained a much greater esteem for you than I can find words to express.

"The noble principles on which that undertaking was at first set on foot, and your own truly disinterested and prudent conduct in establishing, as well as your brave and successful behaviour in defending it, form altogether a most instructive and exemplary piece of history for the

imitation of the present and future ages: and, as example and practice are infinitely superior to theory and precepts, you certainly enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction of having really practised, and set forth in a conspicuous active life, those disinterested principles and duties which, in my humble station, I have only been able to recommend in theory.

"I shall certainly avail myself of the liberty of waiting upon you as soon as I know that you are returned to town; and remain, with the greatest esteem and respect," &c. &c.

At the time proposed, Mr. Sharp waited on the General; and it is easy to conceive with what feelings he was welcomed. In the mutual advances of their benevolent intercourse, a friendship was formed, which was sustained through life with the most cordial sincerity.

Granville's usual zeal soon manifested itself by some additional pages in the "Introduction" to "The Sailor's Advocate," a work written by his veteran friend, on the subject of pressing*; while some public events, connected with the same subject, and which took place about the same time, tended to confirm their union, and to strengthen in both the ardour of social liberty.

* The "Sailor's Advocate" appears to have gone through numerous editions. That at present in my hands is the *eighth*. In a copy sent to me by a friend, is the following marginal note, in Mr. Sharp's hand-writing: "No part of this work was written by G. S., except the Letter to the Editor (Old General Oglethorpe), from p. x. to xvii. of the Introduction."

It was natural to suppose, that a man who had voluntarily stood forward as the protector of the oppressed in one description of the lower classes of life, would be again resorted to for aid by all who, in equal distress, found themselves unprovided with the means of legal defence.

Instances of this nature quickly occurred. During the eagerness of the first preparations of England against her colonies, warrants had been very freely issued from the Admiralty for impressing sailors for the purposes of the new war; and many men had been seized in the city in consequence of these warrants*. The assistance of Granville Sharp appears to have been invoked for their relief by some zealous friend to the rights of freemen. The following reply, which will at once shew the diligence of his researches, and his decided sentiments on the subject of pressing, is among his manuscripts, without date or address.

"Sir,

"You are very right in supposing that the subject of impressing seamen had already engaged my attention. I

* "The City claimed an exemption from pressing within its jurisdiction. The Court of King's Bench held that these claims did not appear to them supported by adequate proof.....This dispute ended without any definitive decision on several of the most material points of law. However, the right of pressing seemed to grow in strength, and all ideas of local or personal exemption to lose ground considerably."—*Annual Register*, 1777.

have made many memorandums from my researches concerning it; and I shall be very ready to communicate them to yourself, or any of your friends, as I have already done to several others who applied to me. The argument which you mention about the public good, or *salus populi*, which is used to excuse the infringement of the most sacred rights of individuals, under the plea of necessity, is fully answered (I trust) in page 25 of the little tract which I send herewith *. . . . . In short, the doctrine of necessity may be admitted to excuse some things of an indifferent nature, *not evil in themselves, though prohibited by law*, but never to justify *iniquity* and *oppression, respect of persons*, or any thing that is *malum in se*; because the first necessity, of all others in a Christian community, is 'to do justice to all men at all times,' (see p. 40); as it 'is better to endure all adversities than to assent to iniquity.' (p. 44.)

"The end or purpose of all good government is liberty, with protection from personal injuries, and the security of private property. But when a very large part of the community, not only mariners, but other inferior orders that earn their bread by labour, are deprived of their liberty and protection, not for a short time only, but regularly and constantly, whenever the nation is at war (however unjust or unpopular the war may be); in such a

* "An Address to the People of England, being the Protest of a private Person against every Suspension of Law that is liable to injure or endanger PERSONAL SECURITY."—Towards the close of this tract he discusses the subject of impressing seamen, warmly contending against the measure as a violation of the laws of the realm, and in particular accusing Judge Foster of having "*prostituted his pen by asserting that it is not inconsistent with any statute.*"

case, I say, the end or true purpose of government is defeated and destroyed.

"This doctrine is deeply impressed in the genuis of our common law, which informs us, by unquestionable maxims, that no man is worthy to hold the reins of administration in this country who cannot maintain the *national justice*; the chief object of which is certainly *personal protection*. '*Cessa regnare*,' says the maxim, '*si non vis judicare*' (p. 49): '*Cease to reign, if you will not do justice.*' And the reason is plain from another maxim; that liberty is the *soul*, and the laws the *body*, of the commonwealth* (p. 75). Our Parliament, therefore, can have no more right to make a law to enslave Englishmen, than any individual has to deprive himself of life (p. 47), because that would amount to the crime of *felo de se* in the state.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"G. S."

General Oglethorpe appears to have been no less active on the occasion than Mr. Sharp himself, whose letters of this date communicate to him several circumstances then passing on the subject of the impress, as *matters of mutual concern*.

G. S. to General Oglethorpe, c. &c.

[EXTRACT.]

"Old Jewry, Monday Evening,
Dec. 16, 1776.

"Dear Sir,

"I think it right to acquaint you, that three lieutenants of the navy, and one midshipman, were this day taken up by Holmes, a constable and beadle of Lime-Street Ward,

* Vita Reipublicæ pax, et animus libertas, et corpus leges.

and some assisting constables, for pressing two men by virtue of a warrant backed by Alderman Harley. Holmes carried them to Guildhall, where they were examined by Aldermen Plumer, Lee, Lewis, and Wooldridge, and were by them committed to Wood-Street Compter; and the pressed men, as well as Holmes, were bound to prosecute. I suspect, from the behaviour of the officers, that they put themselves in the way on purpose to give some handle against the City Magistrates (and perhaps against the Charter of the City*); but, however that may be, it is now most certainly the critical time to defend the just rights of seamen, as well as to justify to the world the endeavours of the citizens, and prove that they are strictly legal and constitutional. Mr. Harley, by signing the warrant, is certainly liable to be punished by fine and premunire; and it would be very hard, that, through ignorance he should escape the just course of the law, and the other Aldermen come into trouble," &c. &c.

G. S. to the same.

[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Old Jewry, 24th December, 1776.

" I copied with my own hand the memorandums contained in your first packet, and have communicated them to Alderman Newnham, who seems now to be well confirmed in the doctrine: so that this has been an essential

* When informed by one of the Aldermen (Sir W. Lewis), that, on account of the respect claimed by his Majesty's uniform, there would be no occasion for any other security from them, than the appearance of some of their friends to answer for them; the lieutenant replied, that " they did not wish to trouble any of their friends on the occasion." They were then sent to the Compter.

service. I find (in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xi.) that Mr. Lyttleton compared pressing with the case of *ship money*, as you have done; and I send you a copy of some additional remarks which I have made on that comparison.

"You will see, by the public papers, that the three lieutenants and midshipman, mentioned in my last, were discharged from prison, on giving bail for their appearance. The affair won't come on till the next Sessions at the Old Bailey; so that I hope we have time enough to prepare for it. A Committee is appointed by the Common Council to defend Tubbs, the Lord Mayor's waterman, who was pressed previous to the affair of Lime Street, and Alderman Newnham has promised to inform me who the committee are. . . . . .

"A person, whom I occasionally employ to write for me, brings word, that two of the lieutenants who were discharged on bail have just now pressed two more men in Lime Street, saying at the same time to one of the constables, 'We are come again, you see!' which is an open insult to the laws, while their case is pending. . . . . I have sent to instruct the constable to take proper witnesses of the transaction, and to acquaint the Aldermen, as the recognisance of the bail is certainly forfeited.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

"P.S. As you have so much satisfaction in reading Bracton, I send a contemporary, called *Flieta*, as also *Britton*, and a very old edition of *Fortescue*."

G. S. to the same.

"Dear Sir, "London, January 7, 1777.

"Unavoidable business has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your judicious and sensible observations from Bracton, and from the English history, respecting

the perverse opinions and illegal counsel of Judges in different periods, and the baneful consequences of them. I have had these observations carefully copied, but have made very little progress yet myself upon the subject, except in reading and searching for books, precedents, and authorities, that relate to it.

" Alderman Lee having called on me a few days ago, I thought it right (as he is so materially interested in the affair, and will probably be prosecuted, with the other Aldermen, by the Lieutenants, for their imprisonment*) to give him a copy of the first observations with which you favoured me, but without the least hint from whence they come; and also of the remarks which I had added: and I find by the Public Ledger of this day, that the Alderman, or some of his friends, have been in haste to lay them before the public; for which, indeed, I cannot blame them; for I had acknowledged to him my own extreme slowness and caution in drawing up any work for the public eye.

" I did not, of course, communicate your last observations respecting the Judges; but, if I may have your leave, will put them likewise into his hands, as he is certainly interested to publish them in the best and most effectual manner," &c. &c.

Besides these letters, there appear among Mr. Sharp's manuscript papers many extracts from legal and other writers, on the subject of impressing.

There is also among the same papers one of no small bulk, entitled, " General Oglethorpe's

* This threat was held forth, but no prosecution was brought.

Memorandums on the Illegality of pressing Seamen, with Remarks by G. S."— probably the work alluded to in the foregoing letters.

Soon after the date of those letters occurred the case of Millachip, a freeman of the city of London, pressed in the month of March 1777; the minutes of which (from the copy of the short-hand writer) are preserved among Mr. Sharp's papers.

Millachip's case was instantly taken up by the Common Council, and an order was given by the Lord Mayor (Bull) that an application should be made to the Admiralty to obtain his discharge. This application not being successful, a Committee of the Common Council was authorised to proceed in taking such measures as they should think fit for procuring his immediate liberation. A writ of Habeas Corpus was then obtained by the City Solicitor from Lord Mansfield; and the impressed man having in the mean time been sent down to the Nore, Mr. Gates, the city marshal, carried the writ on board the Admiral's ship, then lying there, and Millachip was instantly given up, brought back to town, and discharged *.

But, after the short interval of a fortnight, Millachip was a second time impressed: and the Committee, in consequence, ordered application to be made for another writ of Habeas Corpus, directed

* Annual Register.

to the commander of the receiving vessel. Some objections were made by Judge Aston to the mode of proceeding adopted by the City in procuring the former writ. But Mr. Dunning, the counsel, having explained and justified their conduct, the writ was granted, and the cause was brought before Lord Mansfield on the 7th May, 1777.

On opening the case, the Attorney-General moved, that the return to the writ of Habeas Corpus be read; which was accordingly done; when, Lord Mansfield observing that it did not negative the special ground on which the writ had been obtained, Mr. Serjeant Glynn moved for the immediate discharge of the man. A long discussion then took place with respect to the incompetency of the return, from the circumstance just mentioned—viz. its not noticing the ground of complaint on which the writ was granted. The cause was finally ordered to stand over, and Millachip, in the mean time, was discharged on the recognizance of the City Solicitor.

Although various memorandums demonstrate that Granville took a very active interest in this proceeding, it is difficult to ascertain (at so great a distance of time) in what degree either his communications with the members of the committee, or his example in the conduct of the Negro causes, might have influenced their measures. The recollections of a very few surviving contemporaries ascribe the conduct of the City on the occasion wholly to his

interference*. A Report from the Committee on Cases of Pressing appears among his papers; and there can be little doubt that, agreeably to his former custom, he circulated his own and General Oglethorpe's remarks among all those who were peculiarly concerned in the circumstances. It is not unlikely, that the "Remarks on Impressed Seamen," generally attributed to him †, were written at this time, (though printed long afterwards); and the "Address to the People," before-mentioned (p. 240), is nearly of this date ‡.

The following also is among his notes.

MS. '1777. April 30. — Went with Alderman 'Lee to the Recorder (Serjeant Glynn) about press 'warrants, and left with the latter several very 'strong testimonies of their illegality, and some 'remarks on the force of the Habeas Corpus laws. 'Alderman Lee seemed much pleased with what 'was said; indeed, the Recorder himself also."

* In an Obituary Memoir of Mr. Granville Sharp, published shortly after his death, the entire management of the case of Millachip was attributed to him; but that supposition is not supported by the preceding statements, and the error is noticed here, only on account of the respectability of the writer.

† The tract is not in his own catalogue.

‡ A marginal note written by Mr. G. S. in a copy of this work (lent to me by the kindness of a friend), alludes to its having determined the Aldermen to resist Lord Mansfield, if he had remanded Millachip.

The most remarkable feature in the trial of Millachip is the following declaration, made by the Judge in Court.—

"*Lord Mansfield.*—You will be surprised when I say, that I believe this is the first return to a writ of Habeas Corpus upon a man's being pressed, that ever existed. I never met with one. . . . . .

"We are upon untrodden ground. If any gentleman of the bar meet with any precedent, I should be glad to know it. I know that great searches were made into the offices many years ago, and they were found so far back as the reign of Queen Anne. —Upon the temporary land-pressing acts, several; but I don't recollect one upon a sea-pressing. Not one. . . . . It is a late time of day, indeed, never to have had a precedent. . . . . .

"But it is a matter of great consequence to the public service to put it in a right way; that whoever ought to be pressed, may be pressed without litigation; and whoever ought not to be pressed, and are pressed, may have a speedy way of getting their liberty."

The Attorney-General met the case on the open ground of an authorised right of pressing, agreeably to the warrant of the Lords of the Admiralty*; but

* The affidavit, on which the writ was granted, represented that Millachip was "a freeman and liveryman of the city of London, and that he had a right to vote for members of Parliament." The return merely set forth the usual Admiralty warrant, and declared the situation of the man impressed to be

the discussion of that right was waved by Lord Mansfield,—and the result, therefore, of the proceeding was not in any degree correspondent to Mr. Sharp's ardent expectations, always comprising the largest possible scope of consequences. "His Lordship the Judge," says his Manuscript, "very carefully avoided saying any thing to justify the measure of pressing, and postponed the question, saying, 'The return to the writ of Habeas Corpus is improper,' so that the man was at liberty *."

"Now all," adds Mr. S., "that was afterwards argued on both sides, about the peculiar exemption of Millachip as a citizen of London, was foreign to the true purpose and intention of the City prosecution, and served the opposite party as a means of evading it. This narrow, partial ground of defence, instead of obtaining for Millachip an immediate discharge, to which as an Englishman he was entitled, served only as a handle against him to hold him still in suspense under a sort of bail; the City Solicitor engaging to produce him when called upon †."

that of a waterman working on the Thames, liable, in that respect, to the service.

* "The present return, therefore," his Lordship said, "was not a good one, or sufficient to have the man remanded."—*(Minutes of the Case of Millachip.)*

† It appears, by evidence in a later cause (ex parte Randall, 1791), that he was actually produced; but no consequent proceedings are found to have taken place, and Mr. Sharp, therefore, considered the conduct of the Court as evasive. The

In the prosecution of his indefatigable efforts to obtain knowledge on this important subject, Granville procured accounts of the total number of men who died on board the guardships after being pressed, and persevered in his inquiries until he had collected a list also of the losses to the navy by seamen flying into foreign service, in order to avoid the press *. Yet, after the cause of Millachip, he does not any where appear to have made a further attempt to establish a general rule of redress, as he had done in the case of the Negro slaves.

minutes of the proceedings in the case of Millachip were closed by the following memorandum:—"Cause stands over, to give the Attorney-General time to consider of his argument upon what was thrown out by the Court."

On this Mr. Sharp remarks with great severity, "Is it not manifest, from the repeated declarations of the Chief Justice, that the *cause itself is thrown out* by the Court, and that the man was *instanter* set at liberty, when the Court declared *the return not sufficient to have him remanded?* The personal rights of this man are sacred and inestimable, and are not to be set up as a butt to exercise sophistry. Besides, it is a maxim in the law, that the cause of liberty is to be favoured before all other causes: 'Humana natura in libertatis causâ favorem semper magis quam in aliis causis deprecatur,' and 'Anglica jura in omni causâ libertati dant favorem.'—*Fortescue.*"

* He seems, by the following letters, to have had great difficulty in effecting the object of his research.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir,—Being made acquainted of your desire to obtain information respecting the mortality of impressed men on board the guardships at the Nore, I wrote to my relation, Mr. ——

In the course of his exertions concerning impressed seamen, his notes record an interview with Dr. Johnson.

MS. 'May 20, 1779. — Called on Dr. Johnson. 'Had a long debate with him about the legality of 'pressing seamen. He said, "it was a condition 'necessarily attending that way of life; and when 'they entered into it, they must take it with all its 'circumstances; and, knowing this, it must be considered as voluntary service,—like an inn-keeper, 'who knows himself liable to have soldiers quartered 'upon him."'

That the cause was strenuously contested between two such combatants, there can be little question.

at Chatham, to request he would procure all the information he could. The enclosed is his answer. I heartily wish it could have been more satisfactory.

"With respectful compliments," &c. &c.

"Greenwich, May 18, 1778." "S. G. MILLS."

[ENCLOSURE.]

"I have made all the inquiry I could, and find it very difficult to obtain any account, and at best a very uncertain one; for as soon as the men are taken ill, there is a boat, called the Sick-boat, takes them away: some are sent to Sheerness, and some to the hospital at Rochester: if they die at either of those places, the returns are made separately.

"As they are sent away from the guardship, they are discharged from their books under the head *D. S. Q.*—that is, *discharged sick*, with a *quere;* or, *discharged to sick quarters.* If they die, there is no return made of their death to the ship."

But the strength of Granville's talents did not lie in debate; and he felt severely the power of Dr. Johnson's reasoning. He was roused by it to a conviction of the light in which many zealous and well-intentioned men might be induced to view his conduct on the occasion; and he thus makes his own apology:—

MS. 'I have been told, that it is the common 'lot of the poor and laborious part of mankind to 'endure hardships and inconveniences; that the 'pressing and forcing them into service is no in- 'justice, nor illegality, being nothing more than one 'necessary contingent circumstance of their low con- 'dition of life, in which they were bred; and that 'the *cruelty* rather rests with persons, who, like me, 'take notice of their grievances, and render them 'unhappy by persuading them that they are so. 'All this has been urged to me with such plausible 'sophistry, and important self-sufficiency of the 'speaker, as if he supposed that the mere sound of 'words was capable of altering the nature of things; 'as if there were no distinction between good and 'evil, but the circumstances of persons, or occa- 'sions, might render it expedient or necessary to 'practise the one as well as the other. Thus the 'tyrant's plea of necessity is made to remove all 'bounds of law, morality, and common right! But '"Woe be to them that call evil good, and good 'evil!" Happy would it be for this nation, and

'the eternal souls of such as mislead it, if the feelings of the seamen and other laborious poor had no other stimulation than the recital of their unhappy case by such poor advocates as myself! Are they not surely of the same blood; have they not the same natural knowledge of good and evil, to discern, and the same feelings to be sensible of injuries, as those who cause their sufferings?

'It is to prevent and dissuade from acts of violence and injustice, but surely not to aggravate the sense of them, that such circumstances are noticed. Nay, it is charity towards the oppressors, as well as the oppressed, to endeavour to convince them of their error; and how can this be done, but by speaking of the oppressions? It is even a crime to be silent on such occasions; for the Scriptures command, "Open thy mouth; judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy." Prov. xxxi. 9. Nay, it is the cause of God himself, who has declared, "For the oppressor of the poor reproacheth his Maker; but he that honoureth him, hath mercy on the poor." Proverbs xiv. 31.'

He uses the same arguments in a letter to a friend about this time, wherein, after stating his conversation with Dr. Johnson, he adds:

"I am far from being ready at giving an immediate

answer to subtle arguments, so that I may seem to be easily baffled; indeed, even when I am by no means convinced that they have the least weight. If this doctrine were really true, that men choosing a sea-faring life do thereby forfeit their natural rights and privileges as Englishmen, and lose the protection of the law, some immediate remedy ought to be applied, to remove so unjust a *præmunire* from an honest and necessary calling. For, whatever takes away the protection of the law, and common rights, from any man or set of men, is, to all intents and purposes, a præmunire, which, if we except judgment of death, is the severest prohibition that is known in the English laws; and therefore it is unjust and iniquitous, as well as impolitic in the highest degree, that the honest mariner's condition and employment should be loaded with such a baneful contingency, which must be considered as the most effectual discouragement to the increase of British seamen in this maritime island (though the defence of it depends upon their help), that could possibly have been devised.

" ' But we see,' says an advocate for power, ' that it *does not* discourage; men are still bred up to a sea-faring life, and in times of peace multitudes are allured by the merchant's service to choose that condition whereby they are subjected to the impress.' True it is, that the necessities of poor labouring men compel them to earn their bread in any way that they can get it; and when a war is over, the discouragement of pressing is in a great measure forgot, and the number of seamen of course is again increased. But this makes no difference with respect to the injustice and *illegality* of the oppression itself; for if the poor man is not protected in an honest calling (which is his estate and most valuable dependence), as well as the rich man in

his estate, the law, or rather the administrators of it, are unjust and partial; having respect of persons, which the law itself abhors, and which religion strictly forbids. And therefore, if we can form any precise definition of iniquity, this partiality, of which I complain, comes fairly within the meaning of that term."

CHAP. II.

WHILE Mr. Sharp was thus exerting himself as an active associate in defending the rights of English citizens, he continued to view with unmingled regret the distant but disastrous contest which was about to rend asunder the British Empire. Patriotism, in his heart, embraced without distinction our colonies and our homes; and we find him (in his minutes of this time) anxiously taking a part which, though not invested with any public authority, was connected with the most considerable interests in the minds of the contending parties.

His reputation stood high in America, in consequence of his extraordinary acts of philanthropy; and the esteem of his general character had there become established on a far more extensive scale than in his own country. It has appeared, from the letters of his friend Benezet, that his written opinions, as well as his printed works, concerning slavery, had been actively dispersed over the several provinces; that the legal distinctions of their colonial rights, which his penetrating mind quickly saw and suggested, were disseminated through all ranks of society; and that the public mode of action was in conformity with his writings. His suggestions had,

indeed, contributed to turn the thoughts of many among the colonists to constitutional points, which, however momentous, had before lain unexamined, as not hitherto called into view by the relative dependencies of the two countries; and he thus became, unintentionally, though not unconsciously, an instrument in the great work of American Independence.

When Dr. Franklin, in 1774, sent to America 250 copies of his "Declaration of the Rights of the "People to a Share in the Legislature," the work was immediately reprinted at Boston in an edition of 7000 copies, and in another at New York, published by a society of gentlemen. A further edition was printed at Philadelphia; and it was, moreover, printed piece-meal in one of the public journals; and by those means circulated throughout the Colonies.

All these successes were diligently communicated to him, by men who were then rising to political eminence in America, and who courted his acquaintance; and this new intercourse appears to have been the real source of the opinions that have been given to the public, that Mr. Sharp had been *secretly*, and "*even without himself suspecting it*," employed in a kind of diplomatic capacity by the heads of the United States, to treat for their interests with the Parent Country*.

* The following passage appeared in the Obituary Account of Mr. Sharp before-mentioned:—

"The Congress had such an opinion of his uprightness, that

That he took a considerable interest in the cause of the Colonies, in their assertion of what he judged to be their just rights, and in the growing progress of their constitutional liberties, his own manuscript documents abundantly show; and the testimonies of respectable Americans, still living, confirm that "Mr. Sharp was always considered by their nation as zealous in their behalf, from the most disinterested motives, and that they respected his integrity and

they selected him, without his knowledge, as a mediator between themselves and the Government of Great Britain, in their dispute with the latter. To forward their design, they sent Dr. Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane, both of celebrated memory, to Paris. These found an opportunity there of corresponding with Mr. Sharp, and of sending him their proposals. Mr. Sharp accepted the commission. He wrote accordingly to Lord George Germaine, who was then in office; and a correspondence took place in consequence between them, which, as we know it was preserved by Mr. Sharp, must be now in the possession of his family."

From whatever source the above information was derived, it is, I apprehend, wholly unfounded,—since none of Mr. Sharp's family ever heard of Silas Deane as one of his correspondents, or knew any thing of the correspondence alluded to with Lord George Germaine; and I can safely affirm, that amongst the papers contained in twelve large boxes of MSS. and other works left by Mr. G. S., there is no symptom of such a correspondence with any of the persons above stated. The letters between him and Dr. Franklin are of no such nature. Indeed, it appears highly improbable that a commission should have been sent from Mr. Silas Deane or Dr. Franklin with a view to reconciliation with England, when it is considered that they resided at Paris for the express purpose of arranging an union between America and France; and of procuring a public acknowledgment of the independence of the United States.

his love of universal liberty, as the dignified characteristics of his sentiments and conduct."

It was here, that the strongly distinguishing powers of his mind again marked out to him the strict line of political justice, from which his path in life never deviated. It was indeed easy, in the warmth of party feelings, to form a mistaken conception of his motives of action; and it is not surprising to find, that "about this time (February 11, 1777,) Lord E——, and another leader of the popular party, called on him for the purpose of discoursing on the illegality of the intended dispensation of the laws." But he had no sentiments in common with the organs of democratical zeal. He was a strict and zealous loyalist; and the definition of legal liberty, given by Mr. Serjeant Davy on the trial of Somerset, might with strict propriety have been stated to express the sentiments of Mr. Sharp himself*. While he sought, in the most open manner, to add the full weight of his opinions in favour of peace with America, he was careful to

* "There is the law written in the hearts of men of this country. *That is*, the law—(forbidding a man to be a villeyn). It is the constitution; for the constitution requires it. When that is not found in particular books, it is growing out of the hearts of men. I am not talking of licentiousness, nor in the sense some men understand it. *True genuine liberty* is the birthright and inheritance of the people of this country. *That*, I desire to be understood, is no other liberty than that of *being governed by certain laws, as making a part of those people.*"—*Short-hand Minutes of the Case of Somerset.*

avoid every step that might bear the appearance of ranging himself under the banners of a faction; and a single memorandum of the ensuing year will show how resolutely he adhered to that honourable line of conduct:—

MS. 'Nov. 23, 1778. — Received a letter from 'my friend Mr. ———, inviting me to dine with 'him on Tuesday next, to meet Governor ———, 'in these terms: "Our friend Governor ——— 'would be happy to have the pleasure of meeting 'you, and of deploring with you, in friendly confi- 'dence, the misery and ruin of this devoted coun- 'try," &c. This was so like the style in which the 'Governor sought private conferences in America, 'that I thought it prudent to send an immediate 'answer, that I was sorry I could not wait on him.'

But it was consistent with the general tenor of human nature, that, conscious of his own rectitude, and finding his opinions embraced and inculcated in America, and his views seconded there by men of the highest and most leading character, Granville should entertain no common hopes that his benevolent suggestions might have equal influence in his own country. Cold indeed must have been the heart, that could have forborne to share in such expectations! — the lessons of worldly experience alone were able to dissolve the illusion. Nor yet was he without sufficient grounds of encouragement;

for so established was the general opinion of his extreme integrity, and of the perfect disinterestedness of his views, that, in the course of various negotiations with persons of all classes, he had acquired a weight of a particular nature, which few political, or even official, situations are found to confer. His opinions, though from their excessive purity often conceived to be eccentric or visionary, were listened to with attention and deference: he was consulted, referred to, and employed by all parties.

His avowed object was the reconciliation of England with her American Colonies, previous to any confirmation of their Independence by foreign powers; and the beginning of his extraordinary work of mediation was in the year 1777. He has himself left a full account of it, from which the following extract is taken.—

MS. 'In March, 1777, when the impolitic and 'ruinous war against the British-American Colonies 'had continued nearly two years, G. S. was acci-'dentally in company with two gentlemen, whose 'connections with the Americans by relationship 'and mercantile correspondence rendered them per-'fectly acquainted with American affairs; and G. S. 'found, in the course of conversation with them, 'that they agreed in admitting, "That the United '"States of America, notwithstanding their late '"declaration of Independence, were still inclined '"to a re-union with England, even *under the*

'"*Crown*, provided his Majesty's Ministers would '"give them *a proof of their sincerity* in treating." 'Encouraged by this declaration, Mr. Sharp made 'inquiries as to the nature of the proof which 'America would require in order to induce her re-'turn to a friendly footing with the Parent Country; 'hinting, at the same time, his own ideas on the 'subject. He was, in reply, assured, "That if the '"proper *constitutional* terms of reconciliation con-'"sistent with *their natural rights as British sub-*'"*jects*, were tendered to them within two or three '"months from that time, it would be so unques-'"tionable a proof of the sincerity of our Govern-'"ment in its professions of redress and amity, as '"would be most gladly accepted by the Ameri-'"cans." But they at the same time declared, 'that "*after the expiration of six months from that* '"*time, no terms short of independency would or* '"*could be accepted.*"'

In consequence of this conversation, Mr. Sharp, on the 14th of the same month, waited on the Secretary of State, with whom he was allowed to hold a long conference "on the expediency of making peace with America, and of giving such a proof of the sincerity of our Government in treating on the subject as would effectually promote an attempt to bring that country back to its allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain." It was made evident, in the course of the conference, that the

proof which was demanded must include such an alteration in our House of Commons as would ensure to the American Colonies as fair and equal rights as those enjoyed by the several counties of England *. The mode of effecting this important measure was the next topic proposed, and Granville's active thoughts were instantly on the wing. With the approbation of the noble Secretary, he employed several days in searching for and examining precedents, and in making particular extracts, for his Lordship's perusal.

A letter, which bears date about a week after the above interview, shows that he punctually fulfilled his engagement.

G. S. to the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth.

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, 22d March, 1777.

" I have the honour to enclose the extracts from Prynne, which I promised to your Lordship, relative to the examples of joint elections for all the knights, citizens, and burgesses of some particular counties, at one time and place for each county respectively, and which I humbly proposed as precedents, from whence some wholesome regulations might be adopted for the reduction of the enormous inequality of Parliamentary Representation at present enjoyed by the petty venal boroughs, to the manifest injury of the counties and great cities, and, indeed, to the extreme danger of the whole state (by facilitating

* See Dr. Franklin's Correspondence, p. 150. Letter from Governor Pownall, concerning an equal communication of rights and privileges to America by Great Britain.

Parliamentary corruption, and depriving the King of the faithful disinterested counsels and genuine sentiments of the nation); a measure which alone can ensure the safety and dignity of the Crown *.

"With great respect, My Lord," &c.

To the above extracts he added his own occasional remarks; the whole forming the substance of a tract published by him, in 1780, entitled, "Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and good Government †."

But literary research did not constitute the bounds of his zeal on this occasion. It appears, from a letter written some months later, to the Duke of Richmond, that he added a tender of his personal service in support of the propositions which he had suggested. With the accustomed warmth of his language he says—

"I asserted, that I would undertake to bring back the American Empire to a constitutional allegiance under the

* Of the extracts here mentioned [from Prynne's scheme of "more just and equal Representation in Parliament"] he has left the following memorandum, written on the outside of the copy reserved for himself:

"The original extract was written and transmitted to those for whose inspection it was intended."—"This was drawn up at the desire of Lord Dartmouth, being the proposal of G. S. to several Americans, who had expressed the earnest desire of their countrymen to submit themselves once more under the Crown of England, provided the King's Ministers will give them a proof of their sincerity in treating with them."

† Since printed as the first and second tracts in his work "On the Legal Means of Political Reformation."

Crown of Great Britain:—these seem vain swelling words. I even added, that I would pledge my life for the success, provided a proper pledge could be given of our sincerity in treating." . . . . . "Your Grace" [he continues] "will of course desire to know what reasons such an inconsiderable and obscure person as myself could have, to justify the confidence, or (if you please) the assurance, with which I proposed to undertake the office of a peace-maker between such high and mighty States. I will freely declare them."

[His reasons consist in the circumstances of the conversation above related *, and in the singular favour with which his writings had been received in America, particularly his "Declaration of the Rights of the People."]

"Now the purport" [he adds] "of that book was, to shew the necessity and advantage of preserving the ancient constitutional connection of the Colonies with the Mother Country, by means of the common reciprocal ties of allegiance to the imperial Crown of Great Britain; citing Ireland as the legal precedent—it being a distinct kingdom, governed by its own independent parliament, and nevertheless firmly united to this kingdom by the bands of allegiance to one head, or monarchy, of limited power; by which glorious system, if duly maintained, all might be equally free, and all equally defended from foreign invaders. Such being the topic and purport of the book, a general approbation of it in America afforded clear

* He states the similar expressions also of "several other Americans, zealous friends of liberty; all of whom agreed, and that separately, as if with one soul, that they sincerely believed a majority of the people would be glad to maintain their constitutional connection with the Mother Country."

demonstration that the great body of the people were not really inclined to republicanism; though, perhaps, many individuals among them were of a contrary spirit, which will probably have been much increased since that time, by subsequent publications, as the people became more and more irritated by *military peace-makers*. And, lastly, though I profess to have no sufficient talents either of speech, memory, or art, which might be deemed necessary for a formal negotiation with subtle or designing men, yet I flattered myself that I should not be despised by the real lovers of liberty and peace among them; for I conceived that my writings, with which they are already so well acquainted, would demonstrate my earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of all parties; and that my *sincerity* at least would not be doubted or suspected, especially as several of the provinces were also well acquainted with my endeavours, long before this unhappy rupture, to put a stop to the abominable oppression of the poor Negroes among them, and, consequently, that my earnest love of liberty is founded on general principles, totally free from national partiality and the mean prejudices of party *."

* The same disinterested principles, in regard to the mutual connection of the two countries and the due supremacy of England, are fully shewn in several other letters. His paramount object was, to preserve his country from the imputation of injustice, and from the expense of a war which he perceived to be ruinous. Many collateral testimonies assist to prove, that, although his benevolence was *universal*, the interests of America never infringed on the duties to which he conceived himself bound as an Englishman. In a letter from a correspondent at Boston, in October 1774, the following expression occurs; "Your generous concern for this country heightens our opinion, and increases our respect towards you. *You*

His exertions in this desirable point of reconciliation between the two countries, were seconded by his friend General Oglethorpe's recommendation of him to Lord Chatham. In one of his notes at this time, he says; "Communicated to General Oglethorpe what had passed between Lord Dartmouth and myself. The General informed me of Lord Chatham's interview with the King, Lord Bute being present; also of a second interview, and the circumstances. This was in consequence of the General having, in a previous discourse with Lord Chatham, acquainted him that he knew a person (though he would not mention my name) that might be usefully employed in promoting peace."

He had, many years after, the melancholy gratification of finding that his plan was indeed submitted to the Ministry, as above hinted; but it wanted other arguments than those of peace and charity, to procure its adoption. It was overruled, and the fatal term expired *.

hope," Sir, "*the people of Boston will continue most strictly to maintain their loyalty and constitutional allegiance to the British Crown,*" &c.

* On the subject of this anecdote, I have made every research in my power, and consulted those authorities from which I was most likely to derive instruction. Its value obviously depends on the source from whence those, who authorised Mr. S. to propose the *six months' interval*, derived their authority; and on the authenticity of a letter which will presently be mentioned. If both were valid, the anecdote is highly interesting; but that source I have not been able to discover: it may be, that

The following memorandums present an account of some further particulars, which show the interest still taken by Mr. Sharp in the present subject.—

MS. 'February 7, 1778.—Waited on the Duke 'of Richmond, and had a conference with him of

the nature of the transaction demanded secrecy as to its *movers*. It will be recollected, by those who are familiar with the history of the American contest, that the period at which Mr. Sharp's proposal for reconciliation was brought forward, was that of a most anxious *crisis*, when the Congress was divided by internal dissensions, the American army diminished and impoverished, several of the officers disgusted, and retiring from the service, the merchants suffering under embarrassments occasioned by the actual state of affairs, the people discontented, and the war against England becoming in a high degree unpopular.—See Marshall's Life of General Washington, whose characteristic firmness of mind at this trying moment is admirably described, vol. ii. p. 527.

It appears probable, that if the offers which our Government thought fit to send to America, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, more than twelve months after, had been cordially and sincerely made at the instant here spoken of, they would have been attended with a far greater prospect of success than at any other period during the war.

I am enabled to add a confirmation of Mr. Sharp's statement, from the late Mr. West, who, in August 1815, related to me, that "two brothers of the name of *******, (whom he had before mentioned, and) one of whom had been for many years resident in London, were the persons employed to hold forth the propositions of reconcilement between the two countries; that the other brother waited some weeks in London, in the hopes of being listened to, and then, growing impatient, went back to America, while the former continued the proposition for six months."

'about two hours on the state of public affairs. He 'read to me his Apology for the Ministry of 1765, 'in admitting the "Declaratory Act for a Right to '"make Laws, &c. for America in all Cases what-'"ever;" and he told me the purport of the 'motions he intended to make for a reconciliation 'with America.

'April 7.—His Grace the Duke of **** showed 'me the copy of a letter which he wrote to Lord 'Chatham, expressing his desire of acting with 'unanimity in the present exigency, to procure 'an accommodation with America; and also, Lord 'Chatham's answer, rejecting the proposal, and in-'sisting upon the sovereignty of England; and that 'he would be at the House as this day, to maintain 'his opinion.

'April 8.—The sequel is well known. Lord 'Chatham persisted in his violent resolution, and 'went yesterday to the House of Lords to maintain 'it; was fully answered by the Duke of Richmond; 'and was so affected that he fainted, and was carried 'out.'

CHAP. III.

His efforts to suspend the mutual bloodshed of the two countries having failed, Granville once more bent his thoughts, and with increased earnestness, to the subject of African slavery, on which he entertained hopes of making a far more successful progress. In the memorandums which are next to be laid before the reader, will be found the spring that set in motion the vast and important engine of public opinion, and first directed it towards the abolition of the infamous Slave Trade. It is impossible not to be impressed with fresh admiration, when we behold the indefatigable constancy of a virtuous man in the cause of his helpless fellow-creatures. Immeasurable as the distance of redress and the difficulty of the enterprise appeared to be, his mind was fixed on an attempt to eradicate that disgrace of a civilised empire. He was aware that he was without power; but perseverance and the span of life were in his hands, and he resolved on devoting both to the benevolent purpose of his ambition. The zeal with which his first applications were met, and which gave confidence to his endeavours, will also claim our respect. The honour of our country is involved in both.

The reader is well acquainted with the progress in America of a friendly disposition towards the Negro Slaves, which had first manifested itself about the year 1770, and which has been shown also in the letter of the Quaker Benezet. It was increased in 1773, by the literary labours of Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, whose writings had a very extensive circulation, and served greatly to promote the good cause for which they were undertaken. In 1774, Dr. Rush, in conjunction with James Pemberton, and others of the most conspicuous among the Quakers in Pennsylvania, undertook to unite in one body all those of different religious persuasions who were zealous in behalf of the African sufferers; and hence arose a society, which was confined to Pennsylvania, and was the first of that nature ever formed in America.

This society had scarcely began to act, when the war broke out with England, and materially checked its operations. The *cause*, however, did not languish in the minds of good men, although from the calamitous circumstances that followed the commencement of an unnatural contest, it was unfortunately confined to those alone.

Mr. Sharp's mental engagements bound him alike to the service of religion and freedom; and a sense of his united duties appeared strongly in the conduct which he adopted respecting the condition of African slaves. It has been already stated, that it was the natural bias of his disposition to turn at once to

the most powerful sources of aid in every arduous undertaking. His deeply religious sentiments had led him to a just consideration of the advantages to be derived from the important character of the dignitaries of our church; and he was readily induced to believe, that a vigorous appeal to men of exalted Christian principles could not be hopeless. The ministers of that religion which had first broken down the hostile barriers between nation and nation, and had, in its progress, abolished slavery in a large part of the world, he conceived to be the fittest, and therefore likely to be the warmest, advocates for the perfecting so great a work, and diffusing the love and charity of the Gospel over the furthest corners of the earth.

We must, for a moment, trace his action back to the point at which we left the concerns of the Slave Trade in the former part of the narrative.

Soon after the successful conclusion of Somerset's cause, he sent the following letter, in the fulness of hope, for the perusal of the Archbishop of York (Dr. Drummond), of whose concurring solicitude in the cause of freedom he had received the most gratifying assurances.

G. S. to Mr. Lloyd, Gray's Inn, for his Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of York.

"Sir, "Old Jewry, July 30, 1772.

"I received a letter yesterday from my friend Mr. Alleyne, to acquaint me that his Grace the Archbishop of York desires to see the proceedings in the case of

Somerset the Negro, and he directs me to send them to you.

"The arguments of the two first days I have given out to be copied on purpose for his Grace: the other copies shall be forwarded to you as soon as they are finished. I am under great apprehensions lest a toleration of slavery should take place next winter by parliamentary authority; because the West-India merchants, I am informed, intend to move for it, and make all the interest they can to carry their point. This is the more alarming, because Mr. —— was very near carrying his motion upon that head in the last meeting of Parliament. The consequences of such a measure, were it to succeed at last, would be dreadful.

"With these apprehensions, I had intended to address myself to the Right Reverend the Bishops and Clergy, and to submit to their consideration whether this matter does not demand their intervention; and whether it does not properly fall within their province, as watchful pastors of the flock and ministers of the Gospel of peace, to stand in the gap, and exert their utmost abilities, as well as interest, to prevent so dangerous an accession of licentiousness and hardness of heart as must unavoidably accompany a toleration of slavery, which is the most abominable oppression of all others, and, consequently, the most hateful in the sight of God. Think therefore, Sir, what satisfaction and comfort I must receive from the information which Mr. Alleyne has given me, that his Grace the Archbishop of York is become a warm advocate for the cause of freedom! The success of my intended application to the Clergy, as coming from a very inconsiderable layman, must at best have been doubtful; but the influence and worthy example of the Archbishop of York cannot fail of having their due weight, especially if

his Grace should think proper to confer on this subject with his Right Reverend Brethren the Bishops, that they may unite their influence and authority as a body. Give me leave to add, that the honour of our Episcopal Church is not a little concerned in the present question. Be assured, Sir, that a union of the venerable Bench of Bishops upon this point would have a very conciliating and cordial effect upon the Dissenters from our Church. I am certain that it would be most kindly taken, and heartily approved by the Dissenters in general. To convince you of this, I have taken the liberty to enclose the copy of a letter which I lately received from a very benevolent Quaker at Philadelphia, who is an eminent merchant of that place. He speaks confidently, 'that the Presbyterians would be well pleased to see an end put to the Slave Trade;' and his own people, the Quakers, 'have already given several convincing proofs of their abhorrence of such tyranny; a recent instance of which you may see in the General Epistle from their Yearly Meeting in London last Whitsuntide.'

"The Methodists are also highly offended at the scandalous toleration of slavery in our colonies, if I may judge by the sentiments of one of their principal teachers, Mr. Wesley—though, indeed, I have never had any communication with that gentleman but on this particular point.

"One of the leading people, likewise, among the Moravians, has written me several very earnest letters upon the subject. Nay, even the Church of Rome has been honoured by the endeavours of one of her sons, the benevolent and indefatigable Bishop of Chiapa, against this crying sin. The Bishop's arguments are still extant; and it is not improbable that the same may have occasioned the present excellent regulations in favour of slaves in the

Spanish colonies, which are worthy the attention and imitation of the British legislature, as being the safest means of annihilating Slavery in the West Indies: besides, it will be an indelible shame to us, if we are behind the Spaniards in acts of mercy.

"I have taken the liberty to send herewith, one of Mr. Benezet's books, and two other pamphlets, lately printed, against Slavery; lest the Archbishop should not have seen them. I have also sent my own tracts on that head, the Appendix of which, I believe, his Grace has never seen.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,"

&c. &c.

The letter to Mr. Lloyd was followed by another to the Archbishop himself, enclosing a copy of the arguments employed in Somerset's case.

On engaging anew in the cause of the African Slaves, and on entering into the more enlarged measures which the Pennsylvanian Association suggested, Mr. Sharp commenced a course of personal application to the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom; and we shall find him, from this time, during the course of several years, unwearied in seeking the means to impress his own sentiments on every person in those elevated situations, to whom he could obtain access. Nor was he mistaken in *their* hearts to whom he appealed. He experienced very early the zealous promptitude of another Reverend Prelate to aid his labours. "It is my duty," he says, (in a note on the names of York and Talbot), "to acknowledge the pious zeal of a

most worthy descendant of the York family, the Lord Bishop of Ely, in condescending to communicate my opinion against Slavery to his Right Reverend Brethren the Bishops; so that, when I waited upon them individually, they all (with the exception of only two or three, whose opinions I could not obtain), most decidedly expressed their resolution to oppose slavery."

His own letters and notes will best explain his progress.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

"Dear Brother, "March 1770.

"I have lately made it my business to call upon the Archbishops and Bishops, to request their influence and assistance towards putting a stop to the Slave Trade, as the House of Commons have appointed a Committee to examine into the state of the *African trade*, and therefore, I think, there is an opportunity of exposing the iniquity of it, which ought not to be let slip. I have called upon all the Bishops that are in town, and are not invalids; and have had the honour of being admitted to seventeen out of the whole number; and I have the pleasure to find, that they all seem inclined to oppose the Slave Trade, but some are very zealous against it.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of Litchfield, St. David's, St. Asaph, London, Ely, Bangor, and Oxford, strongly express their horror against it; and the Bishop of Peterborough, since I called on him, has exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner, in calling upon a variety of people that have knowledge of the trade,

and reading all books that he can find upon the subject, in order that he may be enabled to answer the pleas of interested people who endeavour to promote the trade."

&c. &c.

MS. '1779. Memorandum.—This spring I have, 'at different times, had the honour of conversing 'with twenty-two out of the twenty-six Archbishops 'and Bishops, on the subject of the Slave Trade, 'during the time that the African affairs were under 'the consideration of a Committee of the House of 'Commons; and I met with none that did not con-'cur with my sentiments on the subject. A very 'great majority of them gave me reason to hope 'that they would publicly oppose any further en-'couragement of the Slave Trade, had it come 'before them in the House of Lords. This was the 'more agreeable to me, because I found they did 'not oppose, nor take amiss, my appeal to them, in 'my tract "On the Law of Retribution," sent to 'each of them more than two years before *. Both 'the Archbishops, and the Bishops of Durham, 'London, Oxford, Litchfield, Bristol, Norwich, 'Landaff, Ely, Bangor, Worcester, St. Asaph, and 'Lincoln, expressed themselves very handsomely on 'the occasion, and seemed very desirous of putting 'a stop to the evil. The Bishop of St. David's '(Dr. York) was particularly polite, as well as 'earnest in the business, and afterwards wrote me a

* See Part VI. of these Memoirs, chap. v.

'letter, signifying his desire to join most heartily 'with any person who would propose an effectual 'and proper mode of opposing the Slave Trade; 'and the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliff) 'took a great deal of pains to make himself master 'of the subject, that he might be ready to exert 'himself to the utmost, when the business should 'have passed the House of Commons. But, while 'the matter was before the Committee, accounts 'being received of the capture of our African settle-'ments, the chief seat and source of all the iniquities 'and enormities which I opposed, the Committee, 'it seems, had directions from the Ministry not to 'proceed in their report.'

An extract from the Bishop of St. David's letter, mentioned by Mr. Sharp, will show the obstacles against which he had to contend, arising from the general disposition of the times.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Brook Street, March 14, 1779.

"I return you Mr. Benezet's book, and keep the copy of your tract on Retribution, which, by mistake, had not been acknowledged as your kind present to me some time since. At the same time, I repeat my thanks for the additional tracts received from you.

"They are replete with religious benevolence and humanity, and, both in facts and reasoning, carry conviction on a subject which natural sensibility and common sense alone must reprobate. But the powers of custom,

indolence, and interest, are violent oppugners of reformation. It will give me the greatest satisfaction to co-operate with abler advocates than myself, at any favourable moment, in the advancement of so liberal and Christian a cause as this, for which you are so warm an advocate.

"With due respect, &c. &c.

"JAMES ST. DAVID'S."

The following is of the same time and tenour.

Dr. Fothergill to Granville Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

"Harpur Street, 11th inst. [March, 1779].

"Esteemed Friend,

"I am very desirous of a little conversation on the subject of the Negroes. By the accounts I have received from our Friends in North America, many of the Blacks belonging to them are made free, and even in these hard times they are looking forward to find means of giving their children some education.

"It is not a time to hope much good to liberty from some of our superiors here, nor do I think any great point can be carried; yet I could have wished to have said something on this subject.

"Thy assured Friend," &c. &c.

Notwithstanding these inauspicious presages, the results of Granville's earnest and solemn appeals gradually began to display themselves.

MS. 'February 22, 1781.—The Bishop of Peter-'borough called on me this day, to inquire particu-'larly concerning the Spanish regulations for the

'gradual enfranchisement of Negro Slaves in Ame-
'rica*; and he mentioned his plan for a Bill in
'Parliament, to soften, and gradually reduce, the
'Slavery in the West Indies.

'23.—Called on Mr. Brook Watson about the
'Spanish regulations desired by the Bishop of Peter-
'borough. Wrote to the Bishop.

'March 14.—The Bishop of Peterborough called
'on me this day. I mentioned to his Lordship a
'letter, which I received last year from the Bishop
'of Gloucester (Dr. York), declaring his readiness
'to join with any gentleman in opposing the Slave
'Trade; and I mentioned also the kind behaviour
'of the Bishop of Litchfield (Dr. Hurd), to the same
'purpose: whereupon, the Bishop of Peterborough
'agreed to call on both those Bishops, and, with
'them, to wait upon the Archbishop of Canterbury,
'to request a meeting of all the Bishops on this
'subject.

'May God prosper the intention, for the good of
'all!'

Of the favourable disposition of the Bishops towards the cause of the suffering Africans, he speaks again with gratitude and pleasure, in a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, dated 1781, giving farther particulars of their behaviour, and adding an anecdote of a very interesting nature.

* The *Spanish Regulations* will be inserted in the Appendix.

[EXTRACT.]

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, March 17, 1781.

" Since I had the honour of conversing with your Lordship, I have thought myself remiss in not mentioning to you the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Keen, as one of your Lordship's brethren who would be likely to assist you. For, on the former occasion, in 1779, he promised, that, if any thing in favour of the Slave Trade should be brought into the House of Lords, he *would certainly go down to the House on purpose to oppose it.*

" The Bishop of Durham also told me, at that time, he believed that any thing in favour of the Slave Trade would be opposed in their House. The Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Moore) was particularly civil to me on that occasion (as he always is on every other), and so also the Bishops of London, Oxford, Rochester, Norwich, Carlisle, Landaff, St. Asaph, Bristol, and Worcester, besides the two Metropolitans. The Bishop of Chester was not in town at that time, so that I had no opportunity of knowing his sentiments; but believe, from his general character, that he would be willing to lend a helping hand in so charitable a business. The Bishops of Gloucester and Litchfield I had the honour of mentioning before to your Lordship, as being particularly zealous to oppose Slavery; and indeed, in justice to all the other Bishops not yet named to your Lordship, I am bound to declare, that I have no reason to suppose that any of them will refuse their concurrence and assistance in this matter. . . . . Mr. Benezet, in one of his letters to me, complained of a sermon, preached before the Society for propagating the Gospel, by the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Green, as being very opposite to the doctrine preached two years before by the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Warburton). I

have not seen Bishop Green's sermon; but whatever sentiments, too favourable to Slavery, he might have entertained at the time he preached this sermon, yet sure I am, that he was afterwards fully convinced of the bad consequences of the Slave Trade; because, after I had presented to him my tract on the Law of Retribution, he, one Sunday morning at St. Paul's, after prayers were over, sent one of the vergers to desire me to meet his Lordship in the aisle; which I did; and he then thanked me for my book, before all the vergers and many other persons that were passing in the aisle, and spoke, loud enough to be heard by all, to the following effect, though I cannot charge my memory with the very words; 'The Slave Trade is a very abominable thing, and ought to be abolished.'

"Your worthy and respectable friend, the Bishop of Landaff, expressed his indignation against the Slave Trade in very strong terms, when he preached before the Society. . . . . ." &c. &c.

MS. 'March 19, 1781.—The Bishop of Peter-'borough this morning acquainted me he had seen the 'Bishop of Gloucester, who is very ready to act with 'him; that Lord Grantham, one of the Lords of 'Trade, had informed the Bishop of Gloucester of 'his application to me for the Spanish Regulations, 'and was very willing to join in regulating slavery.

'The Bishop showed me a paper which he had 'drawn up upon the plan of the Spanish Regulations, 'and which he and the Bishop of Gloucester pur-'pose to lay before the Archbishop of Canterbury.

'April 25.—The Bishop of Peterborough called

'twice this day, and left a proposal in writing relative to the West-India Slavery, on which he desired my opinion.

'April 26.—Signified my approbation to the Bishop of Peterborough of the proposed regulations.'

CHAP. IV.

But it was not in this point alone that Mr. Sharp wished to avail himself of the powerful interference of the spiritual peers: he conceived their duties had a wider scope.

While he was actively forwarding the cause of the suffering Africans, the circumstances which had attended his first political endeavours, on the prospect of a possible reconciliation with America, had so wrought on his mind, that he had, with no less diligence, prepared for the press a collection of legal documents respecting Parliamentary Representation; such as he thought most likely to elucidate the view of our constitution, and to assist the proper progress of negotiation with America.

These were partly contained in the tract which he had drawn up at the desire of Lord Dartmouth, and which he now (in 1780) published, under the title before mentioned*, with the addition, in the spring of the same year, of three other tracts concerning Annual Parliaments†; a subject on which

* "Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and Good Government."

† See Mr. Sharp's Catalogue of his own writings, in the concluding part of these Memoirs.

he had a conversation with Sir Grey Cooper, then Secretary of the Treasury, as will presently be seen. A short note, attached to his memorandum of that conversation, demonstrates the combining powers of his mind in concerns of the greatest importance, and furnishes a just clue of his progressive action during the ensuing period of his life. "My first motive," he says, "for interfering in political reformation, was, an earnest desire to promote *peace with America;* the two subjects being connected with each other, and both with that of tolerating Slavery in America."

He now, therefore, resumed his application to his friend the Bishop of Peterborough.

MS. '6th April, 1781.—Wrote to the Bishop of 'Peterborough, on the necessity of calling a meet-'ing of the Bishops, to consult on the dangerous 'situation of public affairs, and of suitable advice 'from themselves to the Government, in order to 'avert, if possible, impending vengeance."

In December of the same year he also made repeated applications to the Bishops of Chester and Rochester for the same purpose; but the result of these efforts is not stated.

From the time that he published his tract "On Equitable Representation," he took a very active part in promoting the plan (then in public agitation) of Parliamentary Reform. He entered into an

extensive correspondence with the committees of associations formed in various counties; and shortly afterward, finding that his ideas of the legal duration of Parliaments did not coincide with those of several of the committees, he forwarded a printed circular letter to the petitioning counties, cities, and towns, addressed to their respective general meetings; in which he strenuously maintained the doctrine of "annual Parliaments, or more often if need be," in opposition to the proposal which had issued from the general meeting of the county of York, under the influence of the Rockingham party, in favour of triennial Parliaments *.

Among his Manuscripts appears an "Alphabetical List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation, to which Books were sent, and Letters written to each Committee, by G. S." The list contains the names of forty-one general meetings, and their respective chairmen—such was his unrelaxing assiduity, in the prosecution of every measure which he conceived to be conducive to public good †.

* This letter, and the several tracts last mentioned, were likewise collected at a later period (1797), and printed, with some others, under the general head mentioned in a note in p. 264, viz. "Legal Means of Political Reformation."—See *Catalogue*.

† The interest attached at all times to this subject, will, perhaps, justify the record of the following "List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation."

Berks..... General Richard Smith.
Bedford..... Mr. Dilly.

The effect of his protest was different in different

Bristol	
Bridgewater	John Chubb, Esq.
Bucks	
Cambridge	Thomas Bond, Esq., Mayor.
Cambridgeshire	Duke of Rutland, and Lord Duncannon, Chairman.
Carnarvon	Sir Thomas Kyffin, Chairman.
Chester County	The Hon. Mr. Tollermache.
Cumberland	Earl of Surrey.
Derbyshire	Nigel Bowyer Creasley, Esq., High Sheriff.
Denbighshire	Francis Gyffin, Esq.
Devonshire	Sir Thomas Acland, and Lord Viscount Courtney, Chairman.
Dorset	Anthony Chapman, Esq.
Essex	The Rev. Mr. Randolph Ekins.
Flint	The Dean of St. Asaph, the Rev. William David Shipley.
General Meeting of Deputies	Sir Richard Rycroft.
Gloucestershire	Sir George Onesiphorus Paul.
Gloucester City	Mr. Jepson, Town Clerk.
Hampshire	—— Kerby, Esq.
Herefordshire	Thomas Phillips, Esq., Chairman.
Hertfordshire	—— Scott, Esq.
Huntingdon	Richard Reynolds, Esq.
Kent	Lord Mahon, and —— Robinson, Esq.
London	James Sharp.
Middlesex	Mr. Grieve.
Northampton	Dr. Fothergill.
Norfolk	The Rev. Mr. Parr.
Nottinghamshire	Major Cartwright.
Nottingham	Ditto.
Newcastle	Dr. Rotherham.
Northumberland	John Searle, Esq., Chairman.
Salop	(No Meeting.)
Somerset	The Hon. Colonel Somerville.
Suffolk	Thomas Maynard, Esq., Chairman of the General Meeting.
Sussex	Mr. Green; Duke of Richmond.
Surrey	Mr. Bourdieu.
Westminster	Honourable Charles Fox.
Wiltshire	John Awdry, Esq.
York	Gregory Elsley, Esq.
York City	

counties; all, however, accepting his communications with friendly candour*. In the city of London his opinions had obtained considerable influence, owing to the co-operation of his brother James; and the success which there attended them, probably led him to the more extensive measure of a circular letter †.

* His own memorandums notice some partial effects of this correspondence.

MS. 'I780. January 1.—Sent to the chairman of the Yorkshire committee the little tract "On a more Equal Representation of the People;" also, an extract from my "Declaration of the People's Right to Annual Parliaments." On the 21st, at a meeting of the committee, they were presented to all the members present. On the same day, several resolutions were passed, to which were added two articles, occasioned by the receipt of those books — viz. to promote regulations for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and for obtaining a more equal representation of the people. On the 27th, received a letter from the chairman, thanking me, by the desire of the committee of sixty-one, for the tract, in a very handsome manner.

'I received thanks also from several other county committees afterwards, on the same account.

'17th January.—Received a letter from Wm. Morland, Esq., one of the committee for Surrey, informing me of the objections which had been made by some persons to Annual Parliaments.

'22d March.—I wrote to Mr. Morland a full answer to all those objections.'

† *MS.* 'April 8, 1780.—I drew up a warning against the Yorkshire proposition for triennial elections, and also against the aristocratical interest of both parties, in opposing the ancient parliamentary constitution of this kingdom. This warning my brother, James Sharp, read to the City Committee at Guildhall, which prevented their adopting the Yorkshire

Of the only two remaining notes which he has left on the subject, the first has been already alluded to :—

MS. ' 17th April.—Called on Sir Grey Cooper, ' Secretary of the Treasury, to urge the pressing ' necessity for the Ministry to adopt the true means ' of political reformation, now that they had a ' majority against them ;—that a change of *measures* ' would give more real satisfaction to the nation than ' a change of *men*.

' To this he replied, " he did not conceive that ' " annual Parliaments ever were the constitution, ' " but only that *a Parliament should sit every year* ' " *once*."

' I told him, the *original writ* demonstrated the ' contrary.'

MS. ' 25th April, 1782.—Alderman Townsend ' and Lord Fitzmaurice (son of the Earl of Shel- ' burne) called here, and assured me that a Com- ' mittee of Parliament would be appointed, to

' proposition, for a term not exceeding three years ; and my ' brother James procured a strongly worded resolution in favour ' of *annual Parliaments, and more often if need be.*

' 14th.—I formed a Circular Letter to several County Meet- ' ings, in twelve propositions against triennial elections. Gave ' a copy of it to my brother, James Sharp, for the Common ' Council.'

'consider the means of Parliamentary Reformation, 'and to print their Reports for consideration another 'year *.'

Some few minutes, at the periods of 1778, 1781, and 1782, give a faint air of probability to the notion of Mr. S. having been authorised, on the part of America, in the efforts which he made to procure a reconciliation between England and her

* Mr. Sharp's opinions on the legal reform of Parliament were noticed a few years since in the House of Lords, as a subject of regret, on account of the sanction which they appeared to give to some delusive notions of the present time. They will, however, be found on examination to have been formed on essentially different grounds.

In a letter (on the duration of Parliaments) which he addressed to a Member of one of the Committees above spoken of, and which forms one of the distinct tracts in his work, "On the Legal Means of Political Reformation," his candour was, as usual, predominant. "If I have made any error," he says, "or misrepresentation in either of my tracts, let the objectors point it out, and they will find me not backward to submit to truth, for that is my duty to God and man."

His arguments in those tracts appear wholly founded on points of fact; and if he was mistaken in those points, a demonstration of *that* error would have been all that was necessary to detach him wholly from his side of the question. In every questionable point, his admiration of the English Constitution dictated to him *research* into the positive doctrine of the law, and *adherence* solely to what he believed to be so ascertained. His principle was highly laudable: there is no safer guide to the assertion of our public rights, than the study of their history.

colonies. It will be seen, that in the minutes of the latter dates the independence of America is no longer represented as doubtful.

MS. '1778. April 6.—Called on Mr. M——, 'an American merchant in the city (who had been 'an agent for North America, had extensive corre- 'spondences, and had been a warm loyalist, but was 'now convinced of the necessity of making peace), 'and received from his own hands his printed paper, 'declaring the necessity of passing an Act of 'Parliament to acknowledge the independence of 'America.

'May 7.—Called by appointment on the Duke 'of Richmond, to introduce Mr. Baylor, a gentle- 'man of fortune in Virginia. We had a long con- 'versation, above an hour. The Duke endeavoured 'to persuade Mr. Baylor, that it would be advan- 'tageous to America if she would admit the consti- 'stitutional connection with this kingdom by the 'Crown, under due limitation. Mr. Baylor de- 'fended the American cause, and could not think 'that dependence was at all either necessary or 'expedient.

'1781. March 15.—Mr. Laurens, late President 'of Congress, and his family, called here.

'June 21.—Having received information from 'Mr. ——, that while he was in Holland, on 'account of business, he had some opportunities 'of conversation with Mr. Adams, the American

'Envoy; from whose discourse he gathered, that it 'was not yet too late to treat with America for 'peace and commerce, *provided their independence 'was not denied;* I went this morning to the Duke 'of ———, but he was out of town.

'23d.—Waited on Lord Dartmouth at Black-'heath. I informed his Lordship of the possibility 'of still treating with America, provided indepen-'dency was admitted. He said, as both parties 'seemed to be agreed that America ought to be 'dependent on Parliament, it would be extremely 'dangerous for any Minister to admit the indepen-'dence, as he would be liable to be impeached for 'treason. I urged the necessity of peace. . . . . 'No person could be more earnest than I had been, 'to recommend the measure of continuing America 'under the Crown, while there was the least proba-'bility of doing so; but the time was long past: I 'had myself given his Lordship timely notice of the 'very latest period.

'He said, "the Parliament had very fairly offered '"the full free constitution of England in 1778;" 'but I appealed to his Lordship, in reply, whether 'I had not clearly stated in March 1777, that no 'terms short of independency could be accepted '*six months after the time I waited on him.* The 'failure, therefore, of the proposal *twelve months* 'afterwards, was only a proof of the truth of my 'former information. I told him, that in February '1778, I had communicated to his Grace of ———

'what had past; and that the Duke, though still 'very desirous to persuade the Americans, if pos-'sible, that it would be their interest to come again 'under the power of the Crown, provided it were 'duly limited according to the Constitution of 'England, had actually signified to me his willing-'ness to undertake the voyage to America, and 'to use his endeavours, provided he was allowed 'powers from Government to admit the indepen-'dence, in case the other could not be obtained;— 'that I had not spoke with him since that time on 'political subjects; but as he had once been willing 'to accept a commission to treat with America, it 'was not improbable that he might still be prevailed 'on to undertake it;—that Lord North was con-'vinced, in March 1778, that an acknowledgment 'of the independency was in fact necessary; but 'that he was intimidated by the opposition of the 'Lords Chatham, Shelburne, &c. and by that of the 'other House;—that the absurdity of the Opposition 'at that time must now be evident; nor did I 'apprehend that any party could now oppose the 'making peace with America and the admission of 'her independency; and that, for my own part, 'I would run any risk in endeavouring to make 'peace and save bloodshed; but, if we continued to 'carry on war till we were totally exhausted, it 'would be impossible to obtain peace on any reason-'able terms;—and I desired him to weigh these 'matters in his mind, and to signify his commands

'to me, if he thought I might in any way be ser-
'viceable in promoting peace.

'July 8.—Communicated to his Grace the Duke
'of ——, all that I had heard of the possibility of
'making peace with America, as well as the objec-
'tions that had been made to it; and I urged the
'necessity of the Opposition privately making a
'declaration to the Ministry of their consent to
'allow the independence of America, because their
'opposition to that measure in 1778 served as an
'excuse for continuing the war.

'The Duke then explained at considerable length
'the nature of the Bill which he had proposed, and
'that he did not mean then to declare the indepen-
'dence of America, but only to have power to
'grant it in case peace could not otherwise be agreed
'upon, and in case that point should be generally
'insisted on by the legislatures of the several States;
'—that Lord Rockingham, he is sure, thinks as he
'does in the matter; also, Mr. Burke, and, he
'believes, Colonel Barrè.

'February 25, 1782.—Mr. Laurens called this
'morning. In the afternoon went to the Bishop of
'Peterborough, and afterwards to Mr. Laurens.
'Proposed a meeting with the Duke of Grafton,
'Lord Camden, and the Bishop of Peterborough,
'*in order to hear his proposals for peace**.

* Mr. Laurens was soon afterwards appointed one of the four American Commissioners to treat of peace, by a letter

'26th.—With the Bishop of Peterborough at a 'quarter past eleven. His Lordship informed me, 'that the Duke of Grafton was willing to meet, as 'proposed, and would appoint the time with Lord 'Camden for the meeting. I then called at Mr. 'Laurens's, and acquainted him that I would come 'the next morning to carry him to the proposed 'meeting.

'27th.—Called on the Bishop of Peterborough, 'who was gone to the Duke of Grafton, but left 'word for me to wait his return, and returned soon 'with a message from the Duke, which he had the 'precaution to put in writing from the Duke's mouth. 'It was as follows:

"Piccadilly, February 27, 1782.

"The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden are very sensible of Mr. Laurens's favourable opinion of them, and are satisfied that he is acquainted, from their public conduct, with their friendly dispositions towards America; but as they are private men, without party, connection, or power, they do not see how it is possible for them to be any way instrumental in proposing or promoting the desirable end of peace between the two countries, and therefore beg leave to submit to him, whether, after this declaration, he would wish to meet either of them upon the subject."

from Dr. Franklin, dated April 12th, 1782; but his acting under this appointment was to depend on his being at liberty in this country.

The four Commissioners were, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson was nominated a fifth, in case of the illness of any one of the others.

'After the receipt of this paper, I called to 'acquaint Mr. Laurens of the answer.'

During these transactions, an anonymous letter came into Mr. Sharp's hands, which gave a fresh excitement to his zeal for mutual reconciliation.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "September 22, 1781.

"Though my name will not be at the end of this letter, I must entreat your particular attention to the following extract of a letter I have just received from a person of great worth in Holland, and who loves England most cordially, notwithstanding he is much in the confidence of *a principal person on the American side of the question*, now in Europe.

"'*Look out, and find a sensible, honest man in office, and conjure him to save his country from eternal ruin, by making up matters immediately with America:* the first cost will be the least; the longer the matter is delayed, the more will America be estranged from England.

"'The interest and power of France increase daily, owing to the inconsiderate persistance of the English Councils, which drives the Americans to the necessity of defending and securing themselves by every possible means. Nothing can be more fatal to England, than that France should have the absolute settlement of the terms of peace; and yet this will be the case, if a great and liberal conduct is not immediately pursued. I cannot explain myself, but I entreat you to consider this as no slight hint: *the Englishman who does, is an enemy to his country.*'

"Thus far for my friend, for whose veracity and sincerity I will stake every thing which is near and dear to

me, and to which I add, 'Carpe diem, quam minimum credule postero.' Therefore, I wish you would make some worthy man in office acquainted with this information as soon as possible, that a stop may speedily be put to the shedding of human blood, which is the sincere wish of,

"My dear Sir, your faithful humble Servant,

"A MAN."

(N. B. Received 23d September.)

This communication was regarded by Mr. Sharp as confirming the intelligence he had before received*. He was at no loss to find the *sensible honest man*, required by the letter, and he hastened to submit it to Lord Dartmouth.

G. S. to the Right Hon. Earl of Dartmouth.

[EXTRACT.]

"Wicken Park, near Stoney Stratford, Bucks,
23d September, 1781.

"My Lord,

"The information which I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship on the 23d June last, was of more real importance, I believe, than your Lordship seemed at that time to apprehend; and I should not again trouble you on the same business, did I not flatter myself that subsequent events must have proved to your Lordship the necessity of the measures which I recommended, as well on that as on some former occasions.

* It will, no doubt, have reminded the reader of some anonymous publications written by Dr. Franklin while he resided in this country; and it was, perhaps, from this cause that Mr. S. attached so considerable importance to it. Much of this species of *unauthorised agency* appeared in England during the American war.

"I have this moment received a letter (of which the enclosed is a copy), urging in very strong terms the necessity of an immediate peace with America. And though the letter is without a name, and even the hand-writing unknown to me, yet, by some particular circumstances, I have no room to doubt from whom it comes, and consequently am well satisfied that the information is truly important. The intelligence is from a different channel from that which I before communicated, and is equally authentic.

"When I had last the honour to wait on your Lordship, the Americans were at liberty to treat separately for peace, as I then informed you from unquestionable authority. Since that time, there have been reports of a more strict treaty of union being formed between the Allies, such as must exclude all hope of any separate treaty with America; but the letter from Holland, an extract of which the anonymous writer has sent to me, plainly indicates that there is still a possibility of treating with America, if the business is undertaken immediately: so that no treaty of absolute union between France and America can yet be ratified, though it is probable such an one may be actually on the tapis, and near a conclusion, which it is the manifest interest of this kingdom to prevent, if possible, by a previous agreement with America; and I sincerely wish that no delusive hope of subjugating America, and compelling her to submit once more to the Crown, may any longer prevent an effectual reconciliation.

"The true interests of this kingdom in 1778 required us to admit the independency of America, which at that time would have prevented an open rupture with France and Spain, and would have been the means of recovering the American trade, whereby we should have received

almost as much solid benefit from the colonies as if they had still continued subject to the British Crown. Ever since that time, the accumulated expenses of a bloody and fruitless war have been immense. The first loss (that of American dominions) is not to be compared to the subsequent losses, which a prudent accommodation might have prevented; and a continuance in the same obstinate and fatal career is not likely to retrieve our misfortunes. Let me therefore entreat your Lordship to represent and urge, whenever your interference may be most effectual, the necessity of making a speedy agreement with America. You was apprehensive that any Minister who should venture, in a treaty for peace, to admit the independence of America, would be impeached: nevertheless, I have already mentioned to your Lordship a Nobleman who I am sure would undertake it; but if the King or his Ministers should be unwilling to accept of his service, though few men are so able, yet I flatter myself that others, of sufficient dignity and abilities, would not shrink from so good and necessary an undertaking, through any false fear of risk, provided Administration will give them sufficient powers to act.

"With the greatest respect and esteem," &c. &c.

He received the following attentive answer.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Weymouth, 3d October, 1781.

"It is matter of real concern to me, that the present state of my health, to which alone I am obliged to attend, and the distance I am at from London, put it out of my power to make any use of the intelligence your letter has communicated to me. The subject is great and arduous, and a right determination upon it of infinite consequence

to the welfare of this country; and, therefore, I cannot be sorry that the decision of it does not rest with me. I am sorry that your information is anonymous; but as you think you know the author, I believe I cannot advise you better than to lay it yourself before Lord George Germaine (whom, I believe, you see sometimes, and) who, I am persuaded, will listen to you upon it.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

"DARTMOUTH."

In obedience to Lord Dartmouth's instructions, Mr. Sharp made successive attempts (as appears from his MS. notes) to procure an interview with Lord George Germaine, until, finding them fruitless, he desisted.

He could not have failed to perceive, that an anonymous communication was not to be considered as an authority on which a Minister could be expected to act; but he was resolute in omitting no effort to forward the reconciliation which he desired to see accomplished between the two countries, and he eagerly seized the opportunity, which this letter afforded him, of soliciting anew the exertions of those on whom he thought the duty incumbent to promote the return of peace. He therefore sent copies of it also, enclosed in letters, to the Bishop of Peterborough, and the Archbishop of Canterbury; employing the same arguments to both which he had urged to Lord Dartmouth, but with a distinct reference to their sacred and respective functions. These letters are preserved in his *Correspondence*.

In the spring of the following year, while endeavouring to procure attention to Mr. Laurens's proposals for peace, we find him also renewing his application to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under a strong conviction that it was the duty of a Christian Ministry to interpose its influence, to prevent the continuance of an unnatural combat.

MS. 'February 26, 1782.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cornwallis), to urge 'the propriety of the Bishops' joining together to 'move for peace, and to put a stop to the destructive and ruinous war; and assured him, it would 'certainly be put an end to very soon, but I wished 'that the Bishops might have the honour of being 'the first movers in it. I was heard with attention 'and politeness, but I could not prevail on his 'Grace to be active *.'

* On the present occasion, Mr. Sharp did not disdain to employ also subordinate measures.

MS. 'I visited likewise the Rev. Dr. Lort, his Grace's Chaplain, in his chambers at Lambeth Palace; but he was very 'violent against all persons who opposed the Court measures.

'The next day, in returning home, I overtook Dr. Lort, 'walking up Snow Hill, and took him up into the coach, and 'carried him to the Old Jewry, as I found his intention was to 'call on me; and he apologised very handsomely for his behaviour on the preceding day.'

This minute gives a fresh example of Mr. Sharp's complacence towards those who had offended him.

CHAP. V.

It is nearly impossible to follow with precision so diligent a labourer in the Christian vineyard, through all the various tasks of social duty to which he was prompted by the unceasing vigilance of his mind. His desire of public beneficence was become an intelligent spirit of legal liberty; and his attention was excited by every important occurrence, and every public measure, which touched, in any material part, our constitution or our relative condition in society.

When the defence of the city of London became an object of high essential interest, during the menacing aspect of public affairs at this period, he was immediately active in pointing out the proper resort of constitutional measures for that purpose.

MS. '1779. Aug. 19 and 20.—Called on several 'of the Aldermen and Court of Common Council, 'to urge them to call an especial Court on the 'present dangerous state of public affairs, and to 'propose proper methods by which people of all 'denominations may have an opportunity of ac-'quiring the use of arms for our common defence.

'1780. October 7.—Went with Mr. Parker and

'Mr. Whitworth to survey the ground between 'Islington and Hoxton, in which the citizens of 'London have an ancient right to exercise themselves in arms.'

'10th.—Received from Captain Turner, of the 'London Association, the several opinions of counsel respecting military associations, as I had delivered my own opinion in writing on the same 'subject in June, to prevent the Association from 'accepting commissions from the King.'

'1781. August 21.—This morning called on the 'following Aldermen; Bull, Plumer, Clark; then 'on Mr. Vaughan, who immediately went, at my 'request to the Lord Mayor. He soon after called 'on me, and said the Lord Mayor desired to speak 'with me at six o'clock. I went accordingly, and 'had a great deal of discourse on the subject of 'training the citizens to arms, for their own defence 'in case of an invasion. As he wanted information 'concerning the militia laws of London, I promised 'to search for some remarks which I had drawn up 'in June 1780, soon after the riots. These I delivered to his Lordship this morning, with some 'further remarks on the state of the City Militia *.'

Other detached minutes in his memoranda, during the same period, speak sufficiently for themselves,

* I find among Mr. Sharp's papers some rough proofs (letter-press) of the *declaratory papers* of different associations formed at this period for national defence; from which it may

and contribute to elucidate his extraordinary character.

MS. '1778, May 1.—Called by appointment on 'Mr. Powys, knight of the shire for Northampton 'county: showed him the resolutions of Parliament 'in 1707, against placemen and pensioners; and gave 'him an account of several statutes against them.'

'1779, February 13.—Sir Joseph Mawbey having 'given notice to the House, that he intended to 'make a motion to eject Lord G. G——. from his 'seat in the House, on account of his holding a 'place created since the 4th of Anne; I carried 'this morning to Sir Joseph all my memorandums 'collected last year respecting new places, with 'references to the Journals for proceeding against 'members, pursuant to several Acts respecting that 'point; and also, the several Acts themselves. I 'was gladly and thankfully received by Sir Joseph, 'who immediately proposed to enlarge his ground, 'and make his motion general. In consequence of 'this, on Monday following he made, and carried '(though very warmly opposed by the Minister),

be conjectured, that those declarations were drawn up by him for the use of the associations. They were evidently sent to him for *correction of the press*, and on one of them is written, "A fresh proof to-morrow."

A letter of this period, to his brother, Dr. Sharp, shows at once the extent of his anxious care, and the diligent researches he had made on the subject.

'some very useful motions for lists of placemen,
'agreeably to precedent on the Journals.'

'August 29, 1781.—Received a letter frem Lord
'Carysfort, respecting the affairs of Ireland.'

The subject of this letter was not new to Mr. Sharp, and a correspondence ensued between him and Lord Carysfort, which preceded, by a short interval, the well-known motion made by Mr. Grattan in the Irish House of Commons*, in support of the resolutions passed by the representatives of the great body of volunteers, affirming the right of Ireland to legislate for itself, and "that the claims of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, were unconstitutional and illegal."

Those resolutions were brought forward in opposition to the English Declaratory Act, passed in June 1720, "for the better securing the Dependency of Ireland;" and as they were in perfect consistency with the principles of constitutional law which Granville had stated in his publication in 1775, it was natural that they should excite in him feelings of the strongest interest. A letter (or rather a *warning*) to the Duke of Portland, then appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, appears among his papers, written in a style of unusual boldness, together with two other letters, addressed to Mr. Fox,

* April 16, 1782.

Secretary of State, and the Duke of Richmond, to the same purpose.

The success of Mr. Grattan's motion confirmed the hopes of the Irish Nation, and one of the first subsequent acts of the new Ministry in England was, to expedite the passing of an Act renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British Parliament in relation to Ireland *.

A few miscellaneous notes complete this portion of Mr. Sharp's history.

MS. 'December 1, 1781.—Visited the Bishop 'of Peterborough: urged the necessity of an addi- 'tional rubrick to the Book of Common Prayer, to 'prevent vain repetitions.

'3d.—Visited the Bishop of Carlisle, and pro- 'posed the same to him, which I stated would make 'no alteration of doctrine, or even of the prayers, 'but such as our Lord's express commands re- 'quire.'

'August 20, 1781.—Called on Mr. Eaton, chap- 'lain to the Bishop of London, to complain of the 'shameful change of the habits of the two sexes at 'the theatres. He soon afterwards informed me 'that the Bishop would speak with me about it. I

* Repeal of the Statute of 6th of George III.

'waited on his Lordship, and obtained his per-
'mission to acquaint the Archbishop of Canterbury
'that he wished to confer with his Grace on that
'subject, in order to apply to the Lord Chamber-
'lain.

'September 6. — Acquainted the Archbishop of
'Canterbury with the Bishop of London's message.
'I read to him the remarks that I had drawn up on
'the text of Deut. xxii. 5. His Grace promised to
'consult with the Bishop of London, and to inform
'me of the result.

'December 22. — The Archbishop desired to see
'me. His Grace promised to speak to the Lord
'Chamberlain on the first opportunity.'

On the subject of morals, to which the three last notes allude, it will be sufficient to call to the reader's recollection the representation, then in vogue, of "the Beggar's Opera," in which the women's parts were performed by male, and the men's by female, actors! — Granville, in common with many other sensible men, was scandalized at the public indecency of such a performance.

Nearly at the same time he presented a remonstrance, on an indecorum partly of the same nature, to the Archbishop of York, whose son had acted the part of *Thais* in Terence's comedy of the "Eunuch," at Westminster School. He read his remonstrance also to Dr. Smith, the master of the

school, who promised to represent it to the Bishop of Rochester, and said, that "the plays might be prevented *next year*; but the custom of acting them had continued two hundred years, and (he believed) was enjoined by the Statutes."

CHAP. VI.

We must now take into view another distinguishing part of Mr. Sharp's life.

While zealously exerting his endeavours, in the manner that has been related, for the promotion of peace and the reformation of public morals, a result, not less unexpected than any that has yet been mentioned, attended his intercourse with America. It is stated by himself in a letter to Colonel Dalton, dated February 12, 1812, accompanying the present of his tract, "on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery," to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

After speaking of the various consequences of the efforts in favour of African freedom, in which he had taken so eminent a part, "It is one of the extraordinary effects above mentioned," he says, "that the zealous exertions of the Quakers in America against slavery, jointly with the author of this book in the same just cause, should really have produced the *establishment of Episcopacy* in America, *according to the primitive Catholic Church of Christ*, though neither the Quakers nor the author of the book had the least idea of any such consequence arising from their united labours."

Although there are no distinct notices of the

commencement of his action in this measure, it appears from his minutes that it must have taken place about the year 1777.

MS. '1779, August 31.—Dined this day with 'Mr. Wathen, where I met Dr. Price, Rev. Mr. 'Mayo, Rev. Mr. Townsend, &c. Dr. Price said, 'he was informed by a gentleman (Mr. Temple) 'just arrived from America, that some steps had 'been taken in Congress towards the introducing 'Episcopacy into America, which was matter of 'great surprise to him, being a Presbyterian. Upon 'which I acquainted him with the steps I had taken, '*for more than two years past*, to persuade the 'Americans here in London of the necessity of 'adopting and introducing Episcopacy into America, 'on the plan recommended in my "Law of Retri-'bution;" and that all those whom I had spoken 'with seemed to be convinced of the necessity of 'the measure: that I trusted what Mr. Temple 'had heard was part of the consequences of my 'endeavours for the honour of the True Church.'

He expresses himself still more strongly, in a letter about this time, to his brother, Dr. John Sharp:

"The Americans are consulting how to introduce Episcopacy into their continent. Mr. Temple, an American, who lately arrived, brought the account. If this should really prove true, I shall have the satisfaction of

thinking myself the first mover and promoter of the measure, as it is what I have much laboured to inculcate, and to persuade every American, that I have talked with here, to adopt. Several, who have gone over within these two years, have readily agreed with me on this point, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to promote it."

His first writings on the subject are still earlier in date.

MS. 'The tract, entitled "the Law of Retribu-
'tion," was printed in 1776. In a long note, at
'the end of this book, an account is given of "the
'apostolical and primitive Catholic Church of Christ,
'which always maintained the natural and just right
'of the clergy and people of every diocese to elect
'their own bishops, for above five hundred years
'after the establishment of it, until the Church of
'Rome began its baneful exertions to invade and
'suppress that just and important right."

'This note, together with some other remarks on
'the importance of Episcopacy, as being, according
'to a maxim of the English common law, the
'strength of the republic (*ordo Episcoporum est
'robur reipublicæ*), had the extraordinary effect of
'convincing a very large body of Dissenters and
'Presbyterians, as well as Churchmen, in America,
'of the propriety of establishing Episcopacy among
'themselves in the United States; so that, even
'during the war, a motion had been made in Con-
'gress for that purpose, and was postponed merely

'because a time of peace was thought more proper 'for the consideration of so important a regulation.'

The *remarks* to which he alludes were brought forward in a later work, entitled "A Tract on Congregational Courts," and on other constitutional topics *, to which was added a "Tract on the Election of Bishops."

The effect produced by his zeal in the American councils, was anxiously accompanied by his earnest

* See Catalogue of Mr. Sharp's works.

"The chief design of my last publication, on Congregational Courts," he says (to his brother in 1784), "is to remove the prejudices of the Americans against Episcopacy, by proving the right of popular elections. Perhaps there never was any former period wherein that particular point was so necessary to be discussed. The tract is not yet published, but many copies are already sent to America."—The additional tract, "on the Election of Bishops," he states, in a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, was written with similar views.

The Bishop's judicious reply appears in his *Correspondence*. In a letter also to Dr. Peckhard, in 1795, he says, "My tract on 'Congregational Courts' was chiefly instrumental to the introduction of Episcopacy into America, as even Dr. Franklin, the philosopher, became an advocate for it."

A further note confirms this latter part.

MS. 'As soon as peace was obtained, and the independence 'of that part of America was allowed by the Government of 'Great Britain, G. S. received a letter from Dr. Franklin, then 'President of Pennsylvania, acknowledging his conviction, from 'the two books above mentioned, *Law of Retribution* and '*Congregational Courts*, that the Americans ought to elect 'Bishops, and that a General Meeting of the friends of Epis-'copacy was appointed for that purpose.'

efforts that so favourable a disposition of circumstances should be met by equal approaches in our hierarchy; and no sooner was peace restored, than he resumed the prosecution of his endeavours in both countries.

Although no political predominance had been allotted to any single mode of Christian worship in America, the Episcopal churches, particularly in the southern states, were numerous; and, on the separation of the American Colonies from England, a very great difficulty arose concerning the ministry of those churches throughout the provinces. There was no bishop residing in America. The Episcopalian clergy of that country had always been ordained in England. But as the British Act of Uniformity forbad the ordination of any student, unless he at the same time took the oath of allegiance to the King, and as it was impossible for the Americans to take such an oath after the establishment of their independence, an insuperable obstacle appeared to be raised to the further extension of the church ministry in America. To remove this obstacle, and thereby to preserve the Episcopal establishment of the English Church in the Colonies, was now the object of Mr. Sharp's zeal.

The danger from the sectarian members of the church was eminent; for so great was become the prevailing ardour for Episcopacy in America, that the utmost vigilance could alone secure that most

sacred ordination within a pure and uniform channel of descent. Happily, never was mortal more fitted to exert that vigilance than the subject of these Memoirs.

"Is it not a little remarkable," he says to his brother, "that Presbyterians, Socinians, Methodists, Anabaptists, and almost all the sectaries from one end of the United States to the other, should agree in calling themselves *Episcopal Churches*, if it be considered that a very few years ago the very name of a Bishop was an abomination to them, and that even the members of the English Episcopal churches could not bear the idea of introducing Episcopacy into America? As it has pleased God to bless my endeavours for the removal of their prejudices against Episcopacy, I shall think myself more particularly bound to exert still further endeavours to promote sound doctrine in the new Episcopal churches."

Whether the *general* desire of Episcopal establishments arose from any attendant idea of *power*, or whether all parties acted from the same disinterested motives and religious zeal that influenced Mr. Sharp, is a subject of inquiry for the speculatist of future days.

MS. 'Aug. 4, 1784.—Went again to Lambeth. 'Saw the Archbishop of Canterbury, and told him 'my anxiety on account of the great pains I had 'taken to promote Episcopacy in America. I showed

'him the letter I lately received from Dr. Rush, at 'Philadelphia*, relating the present most favourable 'inclination towards Episcopacy.

'The Archbishop expressed a sincere inclination 'on the same side, as well as to remove the obstacles 'which had prevented himself and other Bishops from 'giving ordination to American students. He la- 'mented them, because he thinks the church will 'soon be lost there, if there be not a supply of epis- 'copally-ordained clergy; and he informed me, that 'an Act of Parliament, to dispense with the requisi- 'tions of the oaths to the King, was now proposed to 'be obtained†.'

The Act obtained on this occasion did not correspond to the ardour of Mr. Sharp's progress. It authorised no higher ordination than that of *Deacon* or *Priest*. He judged it, therefore, requisite to address the Archbishop of Canterbury again on the same subject, accompanying his letter with his last work on Congregational Courts; of which, as well

* The eminent physician before mentioned.

† There appears to be an error in the date of this minute, as an Act of this nature bears the date of May, of this year (1784), and is called, "An Act to empower the Bishop of London for the time being, and any other Bishop to be by him appointed, to admit to the Order of Deacon or Priest, Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions, without requiring them to take the Oath of Allegiance as appointed by Law."

as of his motives, he gives a faithful account, to the intent that the Archbishop might be fully apprised of the grounds on which he was endeavouring to promote the establishment in question.

To his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

[EXTRACT.]

" My Lord, " Old Jewry, November 19, 1784.

" I think it my duty not to delay the communication of a work just printed to your Grace, because the *fifth* tract therein relates entirely to *ecclesiastical matters*. I ought to premise to your Grace, that my chief reason for introducing the subject of Episcopacy in such a work, was the hope of removing the prejudices of the Protestants in America against that necessary order of the Christian Ministry; and I knew not a more effectual means of doing this, than by proving the *freedom of Episcopal elections in the primitive church*, and the acknowledgment of the right of election in the clergy and people for many ages afterwards.

" In doing this, however, I have been careful to distinguish between the *necessity* and the *expediency* of free election; showing that free popular election is not *necessary* to constitute the Episcopal order, but is only a matter of expediency when it may be easily and fairly obtained; and that the *rite of consecration*, and not the right of popular election, really constitutes a *Christian bishop*. By this means, I hope I have avoided giving any just cause of offence to the most respectable establishment of Bishops at this time in the world—I mean, *the Bishops of the Church of England*;—and I flatter

myself that I have cut off all excuse for the vain pretensions of mere Presbyters to exercise the Episcopal function and rite of laying on hands, &c., by pointing out the mistakes of the late Lord Chancellor King on that head.

"I am sorry to see the powers of the late Act, intended for promoting the Episcopal Church in America, so unhappily limited; and the authority of ordaining priests and deacons for independent states confined to the Bishop of London alone, though all the other Bishops, as Bishops of Christ's catholic church, are equally entitled to exercise that authority: and I am still much more sorry to find, that neither the Bishop of London, nor any of the other Bishops, have yet obtained authority to consecrate a Bishop for foreign parts, either separately or jointly.

"I should not have presumed to have troubled your Grace with so long a letter on this subject, had I not lately been informed that an American clergyman, who calls himself a *loyalist*, is actually gone down to Scotland, with a view of obtaining consecration from some of the remaining *nonjuring* Bishops in that kingdom, who still affect amongst themselves a nominal jurisdiction from the Pretender's appointment; and he proposes, afterwards, to go over to America, in hopes of obtaining jurisdiction over several *Episcopal congregations* in Connecticut. So that it is really a measure of great importance that your Grace and the other Bishops should obtain authority to consecrate Bishops for the true Christian church in every part of the world.

"If it is not thought prudent to entrust this authority to any single Bishop, yet surely there can be no objection to the obtaining an Act to enable *any three Bishops* jointly to consecrate unexceptionable persons, who shall bring due testimonials of their appointment or election by the majority

of the Episcopal Christians in any foreign province, city, or district; especially if the previous consent of the Archbishop of the province be required.

"Your Grace will find some examples of a similar mode of proceeding, in a note at p. 337 of my work—viz. of Bishops elected by the clergy and people of Ireland, and sent over here to be consecrated by your Grace's predecessors, the Archbishops of Canterbury (or by two or three Bishops of the province of Canterbury, at the Archbishop's request), to be Bishops in several dioceses of Ireland, at a time when that kingdom was entirely unconnected and independent of the British Crown; so that I apprehend these are cases in point.

"I remain, with the greatest respect and esteem,

"My Lord," &c. &c.

The loyalist clergyman alluded to in the letter to the Archbishop, was Dr. Seabury, an American; whose friends in Connecticut having elected him to be their Bishop, he came over to England for the purpose of obtaining consecration.

MS. 'Dr. Seabury, on coming to England, 'called on the Archbishop of Canterbury for con- 'secration, to the great surprise of the Archbishop, 'who was apprehensive that it might give great 'offence to the Americans, with whom we had just 'then made peace; and therefore his Grace (the very 'worthy and learned Dr. Moore) wished to be allow- 'ed some time to consider of the request; upon 'which, Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room,

'saying, "If your Grace will not grant me consecra-
'tion, I know where to obtain it," and immediately
'set off for Aberdeen*.

* The following extract from the Life of the late William Stevens, Esq., although it supports an opposite view of the question to that which Mr. Sharp will be found to have taken, may be of use to throw light on this transaction.

"It is well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history, that, from the time of the Reformation to the year 1610, the state of church government in Scotland was in a very fluctuating condition. In that year (1610), James the First, of England, established Episcopacy in Scotland; which fell again a sacrifice to the troubles in the reign of Charles I., and a prey to the Puritanism of Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II., Episcopacy also was restored in Scotland, and continued to be the established government of the Scottish Church till the Revolution in 1688. When that happened, *I believe the fact to be*, that King William applied to the Scotch Bishops to exert their influence in his behalf, on which condition he offered to protect their church; but his proposal was rejected, and the Convention of Estates, which settled the crown on William and Mary, abolished Episcopacy, and substituted *Presbytery*, as the established form of church government in Scotland; and thus things have remained to the present day.

"But the consequence of this act of the Convention of Estates, and of a similar one of the Scottish Parliament after it, was, that fourteen Scotch Bishops (including the two Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow), and about nine hundred clergy, having refused to submit to the new government, were obliged to relinquish their charge, and were succeeded by Presbyterian Ministers. From their refusing to take the oaths, they acquired the name of *Nonjurors*.

"But the Bishops, though deprived of their dignities, revenues, seats in Parliament, and all *temporal* power, preserved their *spiritual* power in the Church, which is inherent in the *nature* of their *office*; and as often as vacancies happened, supplied

'The Archbishop communicated to G. S. this 'account of Dr. Seabury's behaviour; and G. S., in 'return, informed his Grace, that a general convention 'was actually appointed in America for the election 'of Bishops. On hearing this, the Archbishop gave 'G. S. authority to assure the Americans, that, if 'they elected unexceptionable persons, and trans- 'mitted proper certificates of their morals and conduct 'and of their suitable abilities for so important a

them by new and regular consecrations. But, as the necessities of their now small body as a church did not require the continuance of so large a number of the Episcopal order, they have allowed the *Episcopal college* to sink to about six; and there are, besides, about sixty clergymen of their communion.

"On the death of the Pretender, in 1788, the heads of the Scotch Church called on the clergy and laity over whom they were placed, to acknowledge their attachment to the existing government, and to direct that prayers should be used in their assemblies for George the Third, by name. This measure met his Majesty's approbation; and assurances of his favour having been given them, three of the Scotch Bishops, Skinner, Drummond, and Strachan, came to London in April 1789; and a Bill was brought into Parliament, for the relief of the Scotch Episcopalians from the penal statutes which had been enacted against them. The Bill passed in the Commons; but was *deferred to another session*, and thrown out in the house of Lords, in consequence of the opposition of the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow. Bishop Horsley spoke for it.

"It was very little publicly known that there was an Episcopal Church remaining in Scotland, till the affair of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, a man of unblemished reputation and eminent parts, disclosed that there was such a remnant of *pure Episcopacy* in the northern part of Britain *(a)*."

(a) See Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, by the Rev. John Skinner.

'charge, he would do every thing in his power to 'promote their good intentions.'

In this state of negotiation the subject of American Episcopacy remained for some time in England.

In America, meanwhile, the almost total want of proper information on the subject, and the consequent embarrassment of the Episcopalian clergy, are very strongly pointed out in a letter of Dr. Franklin lately published. Two young men had come over to England to be ordained, but were refused ordination on account of the oath required by the Act of Uniformity; and they then applied to Dr. Franklin at Paris, to know in what manner they were to proceed. Franklin was totally at a loss. He inquired of the French bishops, who replied, "that they could not ordain, unless the candidates swore allegiance to the *Archbishop of Paris.*" He next consulted the pope's nuncio, who could not consent to their ordination, unless they would also profess the *Roman Catholic* faith*.

In this embarrassment, he advised the young men to inquire if they could be ordained by the Bishops in *Ireland*; and finally put the case to them, "in what mode they would think it right to proceed if England were *swallowed up in the sea.*" This was in July 1784.

That able politician had not yet directed his attention to ecclesiastical concerns; but he unexpectedly found the information and the aid that

* Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL. D., &c.

were wanting for his country, in the hereditary church-learning of Mr. Sharp. The progress of Granville's useful instructions to the Americans appears in a correspondence, maintained by him with several eminent persons here and in America. His principal correspondents were, the Rev. James Manning, president of the college of Providence, in Rhode Island; Dr. Franklin; and Dr. Rush. To the first of these he wrote in considerable detail on the impending question, and particularly on the subject of the Scottish Church. To Dr. Franklin he recommends religion in general, on the grounds of political wisdom; and then proposes the establishment of Episcopacy, as the best guardian of morals in a Christian society, together with some particular regulations in the service of the church. Some of these letters require insertion in this place.

To his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq.

[EXTRACT.]

"Dear Sir, "17th June, 1785.

"The book which I have sent you contains a distinct tract on *Episcopacy*, as being necessarily connected with the rights of a Christian society; and, however you and I may differ upon some points of religious knowledge, yet I trust we shall both agree, that true religion is more compendiously efficacious for the forming of useful citizens and sincere patriots, in every state, than any other principle that can be inculcated; and of all the various modes of professing it, there is none (I am thoroughly convinced by the example of primitive times) that would be so effectual

for the maintenance of sound doctrine and purity of manners in a Christian society, as the *primitive Apostolic form of Episcopal government*, provided that the ancient *freedom of election to ecclesiastical offices* were amply restored and duly maintained.

"I have been informed, that, several years ago, you revised the Liturgy of the Church of England, with a view, by some few alterations, to promote the more general use of it. But I have never yet been able to see a copy of the form you proposed. Our present public service is certainly, upon the whole, much too long, as it is commonly used; so that a prudent revision of it, by the common consent of the members of the Episcopal Church in America, might be very advantageous; though, for my own part, I conceive that the addition of one single rubric from the Gospel, would be amply sufficient to direct the revisers to the only corrections that seem to be necessary at present — I mean, a general rule, illustrated by proper examples, references, and marks, to warn the officiating ministers how they may avoid all useless repetitions and tautology in reading the service. As, for instance, after the Lord's Prayer has been read in one of the offices, the minister should be directed to omit it in all the others; though, perhaps, the solemn repetition of it by the communicants, after returning from the Lord's table, may be deemed a proper exception to the general rule;—that the Collect of the day should not be read in the first office, but rather in the second service, or *vice versâ*, at the minister's discretion, but by no means in both, as it occasions too plainly a *vain repetition*. In like manner every other prayer, that contains nearly the same petition in substance as any of those that have already been read in the first office, ought to be omitted in the subsequent offices. And it will require a very careful and attentive revision of the

whole Liturgy, to discover all the *repetitions*, and to point them out with marginal notes of reference, that the officiating clergyman may be more easily enabled to avoid tautology. Such a prudent abridgment of the service, if it were done by common consent, to preserve order and uniformity, would afford great relief to the clergy, as well as to their congregations; and both would be better enabled to fix their attention to their duty during the service; because the human mind is not easily restrained for any long time together from wandering, or absence of thought: so that nothing can be more pernicious to devotion than *long prayers* and *needless repetitions*. This opinion is sufficiently justified by an injunction of our Lord himself respecting prayer; which, therefore, I purpose as the *one additional rubric* necessary to direct us in the use of our Liturgy—viz. '*When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathens do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking:* be not ye, therefore, like unto them.'

"The repetitions, and consequent unnecessary length, of our Church Service, are faults, however, which '*have crept in unawares,*' and without design, by an inconsiderate use of several offices in immediate succession, which seem to have been originally intended for separate times of assembling. But in every other respect, the Liturgy of the Church of England is an excellent form, both for expression of the most exalted piety, and for general edification in point of doctrine: for, after the most careful examination, I am thoroughly convinced that it is strictly conformable to "*the faith once delivered to the saints,*" which we ought to "*hold fast.*"

"I remain, with great esteem and respect,

"Dear Sir," &c. &c.

"G. S."

Dr. Franklin to Mr. Granville Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Passy, July 5, 1785.

. . . . . " I like your piece on the election of Bishops. There is a fact in Holinshed's Chronicle, the latter part relating to Scotland, which shows, if my memory does not deceive me, that the first Bishop in that country was elected by the clergy. I mentioned it in a letter to two young men lately, who asked my advice about obtaining ordination, which had been denied them by the Bishops in England, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the King, &c.; and I imagine, that, unless a Bishop is soon sent over, with a power to consecrate others, so that we may have no future occasion of applying to England for ordination, we may think it right, after reading your piece, to elect also.

" The Liturgy you mention was an abridgment of the Prayers, made by a noble Lord of my acquaintance, who requested me to assist him by taking the rest of the book —viz. the Catechism, and the reading and singing Psalms. Those I abridged, by retaining of the Catechism only the two questions, *What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbour?* with their answers. The Psalms were much contracted, by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined), and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries, and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in Paul's Churchyard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper. In the prayers, so much was retrenched, that approbation could hardly be expected; but I think

with you, a moderate abridgment might not only be useful, but generally acceptable.

" I am, dear Sir," &c. &c.

" B. FRANKLIN *."

Soon after the above letter from Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sharp received one also from the Rev. Mr. Manning, of Providence, in Rhode Island; the original of which document is missing, but the subject of it is known from Mr. Sharp's reply; — viz. a proposal that his instructions respecting the consecration of Bishops should be laid before the approaching general Convention of the Episcopal Churches at Philadelphia †.

MS. ' September 10, 1785. — Waited on the ' Archbishop, at Lambeth, and communicated to ' him Mr. Manning's letter respecting the conven- ' tion of the Episcopal clergy this month at Phila- ' delphia; also, Dr. Franklin's letter on the subject

* The whole of this letter is printed in Dr. Franklin's *Private Correspondence.* The original is among the papers left by Mr. Sharp. The remainder will be found in its proper place.

† *To the Rev. Mr. Manning, President of the College at Rhode Island.* [EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, — I am much obliged to you for so candidly communicating my former letter, respecting the Nonjuring Bishops of Scotland, to so many respectable persons, and especially to Dr. Provost, *as his intention was to lay a copy of it before the general Convention of the Episcopal Churches at Philadelphia,*" &c.&c.

(Dated, 27th July, 1785.)

'of Episcopacy and the Liturgy. He assures me, 'that Administration would be inclined to give leave 'to the Bishops to consecrate proper persons. He 'desired copies of the letters.'

The letters were sent accordingly, accompanied by the following.

G. S. to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[EXTRACT.]

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, 13th September, 1785.

"Enclosed I have the honour to send your Grace the copies of the letters which I promised .... I think it right to add also an extract from a letter which I received last year from an eminent physician at Philadelphia, (Dr. Rush, who was physician-general to the continental army, and some time a member of Congress); for this affords a proof of such candour and moderation towards the Episcopal Church, from a Presbyterian, as is seldom known, though I have reason to think it is not uncommon at present in America. The letter was partly in answer to my remonstrance on the subject of Episcopacy.

"Extract of a letter from Dr. Rush, dated 27th April, 1784:—'I am happy in being able to inform you that 'attempts are now making to revive the Episcopal Church 'in the United States. Though a member of the Presbyterian Church, yet I esteem very highly the Articles and 'the worship of the Church of England. There are but 'two ways of preserving visible religion, in any country: 'the first is, by establishments; the second is, by the competition of different religious societies. The revival of 'the Episcopal Church in our country will produce zeal, 'and a regard to the ordinances of religion, in every other

'society.—Such is the liberality produced among the 'Dissenters by the war, that I do not think they will now 'object to a Bishop being fixed in each of our States, pro-'vided he has no civil revenue or jurisdiction.'

"I had similar assurances from Dr. Witherspoon (a member of Congress, and Presbyterian clergyman) when in England last summer; and this inclination to promote Episcopacy is amply confirmed by Mr. Manning's late account of the intended convention of the Episcopal clergy of the provinces of Virginia and New York, at Philadelphia; as well as by Dr. Franklin's declaration of his opinion, that 'unless a Bishop is soon sent over with 'a power to consecrate others, so that we may have no 'more occasion of applying to England for ordination, *we 'may think it right to elect also.*' All these circumstances prove, that the present time is very important and critical for the promotion of the interests and future extension of the Episcopal Church in America, and that no time should be lost in obtaining authority for the Archbishops and Bishops of England to dispense with the oaths of allegiance in the *consecration of Bishops for foreign churches*, that they may be restored to their unquestionable right, as Christian Bishops, to extend the *Episcopal Church of Christ* all over the world.

"An immediate interference is also become the more necessary, not only on account of the pretensions of Dr. Seabury and the Nonjuring Bishops of Scotland, but also to guard against the presumptions of Mr. W——y and other Methodists, who, it seems, have sent over some persons, under the name of *superintendants*, with an assumed authority to ordain Priests, as if they were really invested with Episcopal authority.

"Some accounts of this were read to the Society for propagating the Gospel, in May last, from the letters of

their Missionaries; and I have since heard that some Methodistical clergymen have procured consecration from the *Moravian Churches*, which the latter had received from the Bishops of Poland. . . . .These attempts of the sectaries prove that they perceive among the Americans an increasing inclination towards Episcopal government; and, consequently, they prove also, that the exertions of every sincere friend to the Church of England are peculiarly necessary at this time, to facilitate the communication of a pure and irreprehensible Episcopacy to America, by removing the obstacles which at present restrain the Archbishops and Bishops of England from extending the Church of England beyond the bounds of the English Government.

"I should also inform your Grace, that America is not the only part wherein Protestant Episcopacy is likely to be extended, when the rights of election are better understood; for, had I been prepared in the year 1767 on this point, as I am at present, I have reason to believe that a Protestant Episcopal Church would have been promoted in Holland, and in several parts of Germany and Switzerland, long before this time.

"How I happened to be concerned in so important an affair, if your Grace should have leisure and curiosity to be informed, I am ready to communicate on receiving your commands.

"I remain, with great respect and esteem,

"My Lord," &c. &c.

MS. 'Sept. 16, 1785.—Attended the Archbishop of Canterbury. Read letters from some Missionaries in America, showing the alterations in part of the Liturgy, namely, the prayers for "*the King*," altered to "*the States*."'

Several other letters, of an explanatory nature, passed on the occasion. The following extract is of importance to the present history of the transactions.

G. S. to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, &c.

[EXTRACT.]

"You have intimated a probability that the people of America, in a certain case, 'may think it right to elect' Bishops; but the Episcopal clergy of America will, of course, be aware, that the mere *election* of a Presbyter to the office of a Bishop, will *not* be sufficient to constitute the Episcopal dignity, nor to confer the kind of authority that is requisite for those who preside, according to the Apostolic constitution, in the churches of Christ, without the outward form of *laying on of hands by other Bishops*, after solemn prayer for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to assist and guide the elected person in the execution of such a solemn charge and trust in the church of Christ as must render him most awfully responsible for his whole conduct before God and man. I was anxious, that this truly Christian and scriptural rite of laying on of hands, should be communicated to the Episcopal Church of America by a channel of continuation from the Apostolic times, that should be as unexceptionable as possible; and therefore I wished that the first American Bishops might be consecrated by our English Bishops, whose predecessors were particularly instrumental in promoting the Reformation from Popery (several of them having sealed their testimony with their blood), and whose doctrine in general has ever since been limited by the test of holy Scripture. . . . . These are my reasons for wishing that the first American Bishops may receive their consecration

rather from our English Bishops, than from the Nonjurors of Scotland. I have good authority to say, that several of the English Bishops (and I have not the least reason to suspect that any of the rest entertain different sentiments on this point) are very desirous to promote the Episcopal Church of Christ in America, or elsewhere, upon true Christian principles, without any idea of acquiring the least ascendency thereby, which might be derogatory to the independence of free national churches; and though they are at present so unhappily bound by the *Act of Uniformity* that they cannot dispense with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, yet I am assured, on the best authority, that they will endeavour to obtain a due sanction or power to do so, even if an express Act of Parliament should be thought necessary to effect it, whenever a proper requisition shall be made to consecrate a Bishop, or Bishops, for America, provided the elected persons, sent from thence, bring with them the necessary testimonials of their ecclesiastical qualifications, morality, election, &c. (for the scriptural rubric is, '*to lay hands suddenly on no man*'); and I have ample reason to think that all due attention will be paid to so just a demand*."

In consequence of the repeated assurances, which Mr. Sharp had been thus authorised to give to the Convention of the Episcopal clergy at Philadelphia, of the readiness on the part of the English Church to consecrate proper persons, two Bishops were elected, Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Provost

* The other parts of this letter also contain an interesting historical account of the Nonjuring Bishops in Scotland. —*Correspondence.*

for New York; and the requisition, proposed in his last letter to Dr. Franklin, was not long afterwards made to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

In a letter to his brother, Dr. Sharp of Durham, Granville expresses the gratification which his success had afforded him:

"Jan. 10, 1786.

"The Church of England is likely to take the lead, and to be gloriously established in America."

MS. 'Jan. 13, 1786.—Informed by Mr. Adams, 'American ambassador, that the convention of the 'Episcopal Church of America (which included 'Carolina, the Jerseys, and Maryland, as well as 'Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York), have 'written a letter to the two Archbishops, requesting 'them to consecrate a person whom they would send; 'that the letter was enclosed to him, and delivered 'with his own hand.'

The next morning he waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the result of his visit is thus stated:

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

"January 31, 1786.

"I do not remember whether I mentioned to you the late requisition to the two Archbishops from the Episcopal Churches of *six or seven of the principal provinces in America*, which met by deputation at Philadelphia, in a general convention, last September, requesting that they will consecrate three clergymen, whom they will send over, in order that they may be Bishops in America. The

Archbishop of Canterbury told me that the requisition is a very proper one, and expressed in very respectful terms; and assured me, that he is a sincere friend to what is proposed, and will promote it to the utmost of his power, provided they send persons *duly qualified*.

"I read to him the promise I had written to Dr. Franklin, and he highly approved of it, and said I had not at all exceeded what had passed between us, and that he would abide by what I had promised."

CHAP. VII.

AFFAIRS hitherto seemed to be in the most prosperous state of progress; but some circumstances now occurred, to bring in question the intended consecration of the American Bishops. The Archbishops of York and Canterbury had conceived some doubts respecting the orthodoxy of the Presbyterian students; and other obstacles had also occurred, allusions to which are found in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Findlay, in 1786.—

[EXTRACT.]

"With respect to the Episcopacy of the Nonjurors in Scotland, I have already received from America an answer to mine on that head—viz. that a copy of it should be laid before the general Convention of Episcopal clergy and people (sent from several provinces) that was to be held at Philadelphia in September last. In that letter, I had stated several objections to the Nonjuring Bishops; and the consequence has been, it seems, that the Convention have resolved to make a formal requisition to the English Bishops for consecration. This has alarmed the Cabinet here. If they grant the just and reasonable request, (which they cannot refuse without rebellion against the kingdom of Christ), the first American Bishop recovers a large sum of money, left by the late Archbishop Secker, as also by Mr. Boyle and some others, for the first establishment of an American Episcopate. And the same *worldly* spirit in the

Cabinet makes them afraid, it seems, to send a Bishop to the remaining dependent colonies in Nova Scotia (which they had once determined), lest the clergy there, when they no longer have occasion to come over to England for orders, should lose the leaven of time-serving, and promote independency and revolt. Dr. Franklin has approved my tract on Episcopacy, and is now an advocate for electing Bishops in America. In my letters, I had assured him, *from very high authority*, that our Government would certainly favour any requisition they should make for the consecration of their elected Bishops; but the worthy Prelate, who induced me to make such a promise, was not aware, it seems, of the power of the enemy, and the general temper of the times. The true Episcopal Church will probably find an asylum in America. The late very extraordinary American declarations in its favour, far exceed all human probability and expectation. There was not a single American, only twelve months ago, who would have conceived it possible that the adoption of Episcopacy would so rapidly and generally prevail, in so short a space of time, throughout that continent," &c. &c.

"G. S."

Mr. Sharp, therefore, exerted himself to procure the most correct information that he could obtain on the subject, as well as to diminish the force of the obstacles which had arisen.

G. S. to his Excellency John Adams, Esq., Ambassador from the United States of America.

"Sir, "21st January, 1786.

"I have had an opportunity of making some inquiries concerning the reports which I mentioned to you

Excellency, about the supposed backwardness of Government to permit the Bishops to consecrate Bishops for America, and I am happy to find that these reports had no foundation in truth. Nevertheless, I am under great concern on account of some other reports that are current—viz. That the Convention of the American Churches have so far altered the Liturgy, as to give room to suspect that they do not maintain the profession of the primitive churches—for if that should really be the case, the English Bishops cannot, consistently with their duty to God, give consecration to any man who does not unequivocally acknowledge '*the faith once delivered to the saints*,' and the creeds by which *that faith* has since been maintained.

"The promise which I wrote to Dr. Franklin on this head, through the assurance I had received from a person of high authority, I read over this day to the same worthy person; and I have had the satisfaction to receive his entire approbation of my manner of expressing it; and he again assured me this day, in the most solemn manner, that he will abide by that promise.

"If your excellency should desire to see any part of the correspondence I have had with America on this point, I will wait upon you at any time you shall be pleased to appoint, to shew you the letters, and I will give you copies of any you shall think worthy your notice.

"With great respect and esteem, your

"Excellency's most obedient," &c. &c.

His Excellency John Adams, Esq. to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Sir, Grosvenor Square, Jan. 23, 1786.

"I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me, together with a set of the Works of Archbishop Sharp, your grandfather, elegantly bound; for which

valuable present I pray you to accept of my sincere thanks.

"I have not received from America any account of an alteration made in the Liturgy by the Convention of American Churches. A project of a new Liturgy made by one church in Boston, I have seen.

"I should be much obliged to you for a sight of your correspondence with America; and should be glad to see you any morning which may be most convenient to you, at any hour before twelve o'clock.

"With great esteem, I have the honour to be,

"Sir," &c. &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

To assist the attainment of consecration from the English Church, he next drew up an examination of the Act of Uniformity, for the consideration of the Bishops *.

MS. '1786. February 8.—Spoke with the Bishop 'of Bangor (Dr. Warren), on the subject of Ameri-'can Episcopacy and the legal construction of the 'Act of Uniformity.'

He again also addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury by letter, fully explaining and replying to both the points of difficulty which had occurred;—1st, with regard to the legacies to be paid on the establishment of the first American Episcopate; and 2dly, concerning the alterations in the American Liturgy †. In conclusion, he says—

* This paper is among Mr. Sharp's Manuscripts.

† *Correspondence.*

"I beg leave, therefore, humbly to submit to your Grace, that, if any notice is to be taken of the late '*alterations*' in the Liturgy, in your Grace's intended answer to the American requisition, whether, instead of stating that measure as a *just cause of refusal*, it may not be more advisable to mention it rather as a just cause for your exhorting and giving them timely warning not to send over any candidates for consecration but such as are known to profess *a sound belief in the fundamental articles of the Christian faith*, and more particularly in the scriptural doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and in the real personality and actual agency of the Holy Spirit, as the Divine Comforter and Instructor to the end of the world? . . . . . It is my duty to apologize for having addressed your Grace on a business which is, indeed, entirely foreign to my situation and calling; but I should not have presumed to interfere in the most important and delicate part of the affair, *even respecting your own answer* to the requisition, had I not been previously instrumental in promoting the present prevailing desire for Episcopacy in America; which consideration, I hope, will incline your Grace to pardon this intrusion, and to excuse any impropriety which may have been unwarily occasioned through my earnest desire to promote the interests of the Episcopal Church.

"I am, with true respect and esteem," &c. &c.

"*P. S.*—Being apprehensive that some difficulties may attend an application at this time to Parliament, for leave to *dispense with the oaths* in the consecration of the American Bishops, I have enclosed an examination of the *legal construction* of the several laws relating to that point, for your Grace's perusal. If the ideas which I have stated should be thought capable of bearing the test of inquiry,

perhaps a regular opinion, briefly and more methodically stated by some eminent professor of law, might induce the Privy Council to give their sanction to the measure, without the formality of an Act of Parliament; whereby much time would be saved. And as such a measure, with the consent of Government, would not infringe any civil rights whatsoever, there would be no probability of future complaints to occasion prosecution (or premunire, as some persons have apprehended) against the Bishops, for doing their duty as catholic ministers of Christ; for no individual of the King's subjects could be injured or affected by it."

But another letter from Dr. Rush happily arrived at this moment, to assist in removing the Archbishop's scruples. The letter itself does not appear; but the following account of it is satisfactory in every respect:

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

"July 7, 1786.

"I have lately received a letter from Dr. Rush, who gives me better hopes than I had lately entertained, respecting the establishment of Episcopacy in America.

"'The Convention,' he says, 'have preserved the 'great and essential articles of the church, and of Chris-'tianity, in their ancient purity. They have lessened the 'number of their articles, but have made no one alteration 'in their principles.'

"In a former part of his letter, he says; 'I communi-'cated the contents of your letter, respecting the friendly 'disposition of your Bishops to the Episcopal Church of 'America, to the Episcopal ministers of this city (Phila-'delphia). They received the communication with great

'pleasure, and appear strongly disposed to prefer conse-
'cration from the hands of an English, before a Scotch,
'Bishop.'"

About the same time, also, arrived the following:

Dr. Franklin to Mr. Granville Sharp.

[*Received July* 13.]

"Dear Sir, "Philadelphia, May 30, 1786.

"I received duly your favour of October 29, and communicated it immediately to the principal of our clergy. By what I understand they are not pleased with Bishop Seabury's operations, or his conduct in going to Scotland for ordination; and they have addressed the Bishops of England on the subject, and received a favourable answer. The Convention here agreed to make sundry alterations in the service of the Church, and have accordingly formed a new Common Prayer Book, of which I send you a copy. But so many objections are now made to the changes, that it is become doubtful whether the book will be generally received. Of this we shall know more, when the Convention of the several States have another meeting.

"With great esteem," &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The American Prayer-book was calculated to remove all doubts:--

"Dr. Franklin has sent me a copy of the Prayer-book agreed upon by the Convention of Episcopal Churches. You will be happy to hear that it is perfectly orthodox, and that 'most of the amendments, or alterations, which 'had the sanction of the great divines of 1689*, have been

* See note in page 344.

'adopted.' And they profess in the Preface — 'It is far 'from the intention of this Church to depart from the 'Church of England, any farther than local circumstances 'require; or to deviate in any thing essential to the true 'meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles*.'"

Mr. Sharp did not delay to avail himself of this new advantage.—

MS. 'July 17, 1786. — Waited on the Arch- 'bishop of Canterbury, and left with him Dr. Frank- 'lin's letter, Dr. Rush's, and Mr. Mannings; also, 'the new American Prayer-book.

'27th.—Waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury. 'His Grace read to me the long letter, signed by 'himself and the Archbishop of York, to the Con- 'vention in America. He desired copies of the 'letters I had before left with him.'

These proceedings appear to have been conclusive.

"The Archbishop very obligingly took the trouble to read over to me the letter which he and the Archbishop of York wrote to the American Convention, and the forms of the certificates, or testimonials, which they proposed as being most satisfactory. The letter is exceedingly well drawn up, with all the solemnity and true Christian propriety that you could possibly wish on the occasion†."

* Letter to Dr. J. Sharp, July 15, 1786.

† Letter to Dr. J. Sharp.

The Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, was in the mean time opened on the 21st of June, when an appropriate sermon was delivered in Christ Church in Philadelphia, by the Rev. William White, the first Bishop elect of Pennsylvania *. The two Bishops, Dr. White and Dr. Provost, then proceeded to England.

On their arrival, Mr. Sharp was still the organ of their communication with the English Primate.—

MS. 'January 1, 1787.—Spoke with the Bishop 'of Landaff, (Dr. Watson) about the Bishops of 'America.

'6th.—Dined with the Bishop of Landaff, and 'met there the two American Bishops, and the 'Recorder of London.

'9th.—At Lambeth. Saw the Archbishop, and 'had a very satisfactory answer. I informed Dr. 'Provost.'

The two Bishops elect were finally presented by Mr. Sharp to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and on the 4th of February received consecration from his hands. On the next day, they took an affectionate leave of their conductor, and set sail for America.

* The sermon was printed at the request of the Committee; and Dr. White sent a copy of it to Mr. G. S.

About three years afterwards, a third American Bishop, Dr. Madison, arrived in England for consecration.—

MS. '1790. September 3d. — Received a letter 'from Mr. Donald, informing me that Dr. Madison, 'the Bishop elect of Virginia, is much obliged by 'my offer of introducing him to the Archbishop of 'Canterbury.

'5th. *Sunday.*—This day I waited on the Arch-'bishop, for leave to introduce the Bishop elect from 'Virginia, and informed his Grace, that the Episcopal 'Convention of America had written to him, and 'received no answer. He very kindly brought a copy 'of the answer signed by him and the Archbishop of 'York, and read it to me; and the heads of the 'opinions they had taken on the occasion. He gave 'me leave to introduce Dr. Madison that afternoon*. 'I went in search of him to Knightsbridge, and then 'into the city, and then back again to Knightsbridge, 'where I found him, and introduced him to the 'Archbishop at eight o'clock at night†.'

The consecration which followed enabled the American church to consecrate without further

* Some particular circumstances rendered the consecration of Dr. Madison interesting to the English Primates.—*Correspondence.*

† These particulars are retained, as they show the unwearied activity so often remarked.

application to England. "A third Bishop," says another minute, "Dr. Maddison of Virginia, was also consecrated by the Archbishop. Since that time, there being a sufficient number of Bishops in America for the performance of the sacred rite, two Bishops have lately been elected and consecrated there: viz. one for Carolina, and the other for Massachusetts Bay*."

* A summary of the circumstances that have been related, is contained in a letter from Mr. Sharp (addressed to a friend at a later period), which communicates some other curious particulars. The following are extracts:—

"When Dr. Seabury left the Archbishop in the manner which I have mentioned, he hastened to Scotland, to be consecrated by the Scotch Bishops, who at that time had applied to the Pretender for writs of *congé d'elire*, though my own grandfather had assisted them during the cruel persecutions of the Presbyterians, and afterward obtained from Queen Anne a power for them to continue their Episcopal elections *among themselves*, without other interference of Government. This he obtained as Archbishop of York."

"About the same time I received a letter from Dr. Franklin, informing me that a general convention of the clergy and people of America, consisting of Presbyterians and other dissenters, was then assembled, to elect three bishops, one for New York, another for Pennsylvania, and a third for Virginia; who were to be sent to England for consecration. I immediately acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury with this extraordinary circumstance, and he gave me authority to inform Dr. Franklin, that, if the Americans would send proper certificates of three years' good moral character and Christian conduct, and also of sufficient learning for so important a function, he (the Archbishop) would do every thing in his power to promote it. For Lord Chancellor Thurlow had opposed the measure, on the ground that the Act of Uniformity would not permit the

Few, if any, examples can be found of more momentous, or more successful, exertions in the service of the church. By the active intelligence of a single person, the mutual prejudices and doubts of the two countries were removed, and the functions of the Episcopal order duly established in America.

The fortunate result of Granville's efforts did

Bishops of England to extend their authority beyond the bounds of this kingdom; against which opinion I asserted, that the Act of Uniformity must have *a legal construction*, or else it must be deemed null and void; and if it contained any words which denied the right of the Bishops of England to extend the primitive apostolic church of Christ all over the world, that it must be deemed a *mere nullity*.—Soon afterwards, the Archbishop began to have doubts about the orthodoxy of these American Presbyterians; but, providentially, Dr. Franklin sent me one of the new American Prayer-books, which had been copied from an important record lodged in the Archbishop's own library at Lambeth by Archbishop Tillotson, and the Bishops Tenison, Stillingfleet, Lloyd, &c., and had been drawn up under a commission issued by King William the Third, appointing an assembly of all the Bishops of England, to whom were added two persons not then bishops, one of whom was my own grandfather, Dr. John Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of York); when the Oxford Tories violently opposed them in a general convention of the clergy for the correction and improvement of the Liturgy. The American Prayer-book had thus been formed on the authority of all the Bishops in that Assembly (and the Archbishop was fully convinced of this when I presented it to him), so that it is really more valuable and correct than our present Liturgy."

"They have now six Bishops in the independent States of America. The English Government also has appointed Bishops for Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, and Quebec. The independent States first set the important example."

not make him forgetful of the Source from which he derived it. "I do not presume," he says, "to claim the least merit in these transactions, but must attribute the success of them entirely to the providence of God, which has thus promoted the *Primitive Episcopal Church of Christ**."

Some few minutes occur, respecting his intercourse with other American provinces, on the concerns of the church.—

G. S. to his Brother, Dr. Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

"December 1, 1788.

"I have lately received a very interesting letter from the Chief Justice of Canada†, enclosing a state of the religious concerns of that province, and urging me to lay it before the Archbishop of Canterbury; which I have done; and have found his Grace very earnest to promote the views of the chief justice; but the unhappy illness of the King prevents any progress in the business at present. The proposal is, to obtain a grant of lands and buildings for the establishment of a Protestant college at Montreal, and for the maintainance of several schools in different parts. I wish that a *Protestant bishop* was added to the establishment."

In another letter, of the 21st January, 1789:

"I have had another extraordinary application yesterday, from a Loyalist clergyman, to promote the esta-

* Letter to Thomas Allan, Esq., 8th December, 1812.

† Brought by Mr. Mank (or Monk), Attorney-General of Canada.

blishment of Episcopacy in the American province of Vermont, adjoining Canada; with assurances of having large tracts of land secured to the Society for propagating the Gospel, for that purpose; which I will lay before the Archbishop as soon as I can get it copied.

"Your affectionate brother,

"G. S."

These applications from Canada and Vermont are strong proofs of the general conviction entertained by all parties, of Mr. Sharp's religious sincerity, and of the disinterested views which at all times prompted his conduct towards America.

MS. '1789. March 13.—Waited on the Arch-'bishop of Canterbury, about Canada affairs.'

'May 25th.—With the Archbishop of Canter-'bury, about Canada. He now has hopes of pro-'ceeding with success.'

Among the measures which Mr. Sharp had considered as most likely to improve his unexpected success in the attempt to establish a pure Protestant Episcopacy in America, he had anxiously endeavoured to promote, through the same channels that were already opened to him, the extension of Christian knowledge over a continent where the human mind appeared to him to be just verging to maturity *, and

* I find among Mr. Sharp's papers on this subject, the following 'extract,' in his own hand writing,—"On the Prospect of

where he conceived that, consequently, a general diffusion of the precepts contained in the Scriptures might be of the highest avail. For this virtuous purpose he had followed up his arduous outset by large donations of religious books to the several public libraries in America, adding also such other works as he thought most useful to the advancing state of the provinces. "I have sent presents of books" (he says, in a letter to his brother Dr. J. Sharp, 1784,) "to the libraries in all the principal places in America, in order to gain some little influence to enable me to promote Episcopacy throughout that continent."

The various letters that passed on these occasions, and are found in his *Correspondence*, are proper to

planting Arts and Learning in America, by Dr. Berkley, Bishop of Cloyne."

"IV. There shall be sung another golden age:
The rise of Empire and of Arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts—

"V. Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay—
By future poets shall be sung.

"VI. Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:—
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

[These are a part of the only poem in the Bishop's printed works.]

be inserted in this place, but, being too numerous for the purpose of a narrative, are reserved for a future opportunity. They contain some interesting particulars of the *literary institutions* of the colonies. In one of them, we meet with the two brothers, William and Granville, uniting their endeavours to diffuse the blessing of religious instruction.

But Mr. Sharp's liberality extended beyond the motives which gave it birth. Long after his purpose had been fully attained, his memorandums show him largely renewing his gifts to the various American colleges and public libraries *.

* Correct Catalogues of the numerous works sent by Mr. S. to America, are among his papers. The Libraries to which he presented them, were those of New York, Philadelphia, and Virginia, by the hands of the respective Bishops of those places; and those of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; Yale College, Newhaven, Connecticut; and Princeton College, Princeton, New Jersey, by their respective Presidents.

His bounties to other Public Libraries, of various descriptions, appear to have had a very early date, and to have continued to a very late period of his life. One of the earliest, and one of the latest instances, are found in the following documents.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " Riegate, 11th May, 1773.

" I have received from Mr. Bryant twenty-seven volumes, as a present from you to our public library—not founded by Lord Somers, as I suppose you have been misinformed, but by a poor predecessor of mine in this poor vicarage: his name was Andrew Cranston.

" It is very kind in you to consider the wants of us country parsons, who are early in life banished the society and conver-

On the return of peace, he had also renewed his communication with Anthony Benezet; but this correspondence was of short duration: the term of Benezet's labours was approaching, and Mr. Sharp's last letter was withheld on account of the declining state of his correspondent. This excellent man died at Philadelphia in the spring of 1784. The inter-

sation of the learned, and excluded by our situation from all access to libraries, and so quickly lose the small smattering of learning which we had picked up at the university; and this not always through our own fault or idleness, but often merely for want of tools to work with. For, by the wholesome regulations of King Henry VIII. we are generally reduced to so scanty an allowance, as, after the necessary provision of food and raiment, to have little to lay out on books or other literary apparatus; and so we soon and insensibly slide into the character and habits of the country farmers with whom we are condemned to pass our days. This misfortune is partly prevented, or alleviated, by the institution of parochial libraries, where they take place; and might be so in a greater degree, were men of your considerate and liberal spirit more frequently met with. These being my real sentiments, you will believe it is with sincerity that, as well on my own behalf as on that of my neighbouring brethren, I return you hearty thanks for your very handsome present.

"I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

"W. STEAD."

"MIDDLE TEMPLE. } *At a Parliament holden the 8th day of February*, 1805:

"Ordered, that the Thanks of this Parliament be presented to Granville Sharp, Esq. for his very obliging present of several volumes and pamphlets, chiefly on legal subjects, and of the greater part of which he is the author, to be placed in the Library of this Society.

"W. ELDRED, *Sub-Treasurer*."

ment of his remains was attended by several thousands of all ranks, professions, and parties, who united in deploring their loss. The mournful procession was closed by some hundreds of those poor Africans who had been personally benefited by his labours, and whose behaviour on the occasion showed the gratitude and affection which they considered to be due to him as their own special benefactor, as well as the benefactor of their whole race.

CHAP. VIII.

It is here requisite to interrupt the history of the zealous exertions of a philanthropist in favour of a new world, in order to turn once more to the vices of the old one. In 1783, Mr. Sharp found himself called on for a renewal of his benevolent efforts in behalf of African slaves. The case which presented itself was of the greatest enormity, and most atrocious description. Let us first see his own Manuscript notes of the transaction.

MS. 'March 19. — Gustavus Vasa, a Negro, 'called on me, with an account of one hundred and 'thirty Negroes being thrown alive into the sea, 'from on board an English slave-ship.

'20th. — Called on Dr. Bever this evening, to 'consult about prosecuting the murderers of the 'Negroes.

'21st. — Called on the Bishops of Chester and 'Peterborough, and General Oglethorpe, and Dr. 'Jebb.

'22d. — Ordered Messrs. Heseltine and Lushing-'ton to commence a prosecution in the Admiralty 'Court, against all persons concerned in throwing into

'the sea one hundred and thirty Negro slaves, as stated 'on a trial at Guildhall on the 6th of this month.

'May 19th. — Attended the Court of King's
20th. Bench with a short-hand writer.
21st. This day the Negro cause came
22d. on between the insurers and the owners of the slave ship, from on board of which the one hundred and thirty poor Negroes were cast into the sea. A new trial is granted to the insurers.'

The circumstances of this case could not fail to excite a deep interest. The master of a slave ship, trading from Africa to Jamaica, and having four hundred and forty slaves on board, had thought fit, on a pretext that he might be distressed on his voyage for want of water, to lessen the consumption of it in the vessel by throwing overboard one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly among the slaves.

On his return to England, the owners of the ship claimed from the insurers the full value of those drowned slaves, on the ground that there was an absolute necessity for throwing them into the sea, in order to save the remaining crew, and the ship itself.

The underwriters contested the existence of the alleged necessity; or, if it had existed, attributed it to the ignorance and improper conduct of the master of the vessel.

This contest of pecuniary interest brought to light a scene of horrid brutality, which had been acted during the execution of a detestable plot. From the trial, it appeared, that the ship Zong (or Zung), Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, September 6th, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves, and fourteen whites, on board, for Jamaica; and that, on the November following, she fell in with that island; but instead of proceeding to some port, the master, mistaking (as he alleged) Jamaica for Hispaniola, ran her to leeward.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place on board the crowded vessel: so that, between the time of leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th of November, sixty slaves and seven white people had died; and a great number of the surviving slaves were then sick, and not likely to live long. On that day, the master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and stated to them, that if the sick slaves died a natural death, the loss would fall on the owners of the ship *; but if they were thrown alive into the sea, on any sufficient pretext of necessity for the safety of the ship, it would be the

* This was in fact the law then observed, respecting Negro slaves.

Lord Mansfield (on application for a second trial). "Since the trial, I was informed, if the slaves die a natural death, the underwriters do not pay for them, but, in an engagement, if they are attacked and the slaves are killed, they will be paid for as much as for damages done to goods; and it is frequently

loss of the underwriters: alleging, at the same time, that it would be "less cruel to throw the sick wretches into the sea, than to suffer them to linger out a few days, under the disorder with which they were afflicted."

To this inhuman proposal the mate, James Kelsal, at first objected, but Collingwood at length prevailed on the crew to listen to it. He then chose out from the cargo one hundred and thirty-two slaves, and brought them on deck; all, or most of whom, were sickly, and not likely to recover; and he ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea. "*A parcel*" of them were accordingly thrown overboard, and, on counting over the remainder the next morning, it appeared, that the number so drowned had been fifty-four. He then ordered another *parcel* to be thrown over, which a second counting, on the succeeding day, proved to have amounted to forty-two.

On that (the third) day, the remaining thirty-six were brought on deck, and, as these now resisted the cruel purpose of their masters, the arms of twenty-six were fettered with irons, and the savage crew proceeded with the diabolical work, casting them down to join their comrades of the former days. Outraged misery could endure no longer: the ten

done: just as if horses were killed. They are paid for in the gross, as well as for horses killed; but you don't pay for horses that die a natural death"—*From Minutes taken in Court, May* 21, 1783.

last victims sprang disdainfully from the grasp of their tyrants, defied their power, and, leaping into the sea, felt a momentary triumph in the embrace of death.

To palliate the guilt of these atrocious acts, it was affirmed on the trial, that, when the captain made the horrid proposal to his crew, he had discovered that there was a scarcity of water on board; and, as the large quantity of the *human cargo*—so it was afterwards called by the Solicitor-General—[*Great and merciful God! shall we not daily thank thee that this infamy no longer stains the page of our history?*] —as *that circumstance* increased the scarcity, he had taken the method which had been stated, of relieving himself and his crew from the impending danger. It was, however, proved in reply, that no person in the ship had been put on short allowance of water at any moment; and, moreover, that plentiful rain fell in the course of the *second* day; *after* which, Collingwood persisted in throwing overboard the remaining thirty-six Negroes.

It was obvious, therefore, that the cause of this detestable action lay elsewhere; and it was proved, on examination, that it was in reality a plan to defraud the insurers in the manner above mentioned. The master of the ship had also a separate interest in this conduct, as he received his *per-centage* in proportion to the quantity and value of the cargo. The diminution of the *human part of the cargo* by a natural death, diminished the profits of his com-

mission, by diminishing the amount of the value of the whole; but, if the drowned were to be paid for by the insurers, they still constituted a part of the value of the cargo, and the master retained his whole profits.

Notwithstanding this self-evident statement, the verdict of the jury was, on the first trial, in favour of the owners and Captain Collingwood.

On an application to Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench for a second trial, the Solicitor-General (Lee) appeared a second time for the owners; when, in addition to his professional task of defending their claims on the underwriters, he, in eloquent but obdurate language, reprobated the "pretended appeals" of the counsel on the other side to the "feelings of humanity," and asserted the unquestionable right of the master of the vessel (in point of law) to throw overboard as many living slaves as he pleased, provided he exhibited a powerful reason for so doing.

"What is all this vast declamation," he said, "of *human people being thrown overboard?* The question after all is, Was it voluntary, or an act of necessity?

"This is a case of *chattels or goods.* It is really so: it is the case of throwing over goods; for to this purpose, and the purpose of the insurance, they are *goods* and *property: whether right or wrong, we have nothing to do with it.*"

"This property—*the human creatures, if you will*

—have been thrown overboard: whether or not for the preservation of the rest, that is the real question."

Mr. Sharp had an interest in this cause very different from that which formed the plea of the underwriters; but his presence at the trial did not escape the notice of the pleaders employed on the part of Collingwood:—

MS. 'At the trial respecting the ship Zong, an 'eminent counsel for the owners (J. Lee, of York-'shire, Esq.) violently exclaimed to the Judges, that 'a person was in Court (at the same time turning 'round and looking at me) who intended to bring 'on a criminal prosecution for murder against the 'parties concerned: "but," said he, "*it would be 'madness: the Blacks were property*," &c. &c.'

This violence of personal censure will appear less surprising, if we regard the side of the question on which the orator stood. His cause certainly suffered much by the additional charge brought against it by Mr. Sharp's humanity. The advocates for the insurers were, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Pigot, and Mr. Heywood, who, in the course of their speeches, made many allusions to that point of the case which Mr. Sharp considered as a just ground for a criminal prosecution.

"Is it not strange," said Mr. Pigot, "that the parties concerned should be suffered to go out of the

kingdom, when they ought to be tried for murder in another place?"

"Is this thing to be justified? Was there such a necessity, that every man who hears me will say it was inevitable? Another thing is,—*was it to be done at all?* The life of one man is like the life of another man, whatever the complexion is. Suppose the exigency described had existed—I ground myself on the rights and essential interests of humanity—I contend, that, as long as any water remained to be divided, these men were as much entitled to their share as the captain, or any other man whatever."

Mr. Heywood. "That the present is a *new* cause, is allowed on all hands; and I hope, for the honour of humanity and mankind in general, it will be the *last.* That, in point of importance, it is the greatest that ever came before this Court, cannot be disputed. We are not now merely defending the underwriters from the damages obtained against them: I cannot help thinking that my friends who came before me, and myself, on this occasion, appear as counsel for millions of mankind, and the cause of humanity in general."

Lord Mansfield also appears to have weighed the same point very strictly.—"The matter," he said, "left to the jury, was, *whether it was from necessity;* for they had no doubt *(though it shocks one very much)* that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard. *It is a very shocking case.*"

A rule for a new trial was granted by his Lordship on behalf of the underwriters; and Mr. Sharp, with his accustomed energy of mind and action, immediately sent an attested account of the whole transaction to the Lords of the Admiralty, addressing a copy of it likewise to the Duke of Portland, then first Lord of the Treasury.

G. S. to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

[*Enclosing the copy of a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, with an account of the murder of one hundred and thirty-two Negro slaves, on board the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader.*]

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, July 18, 1783.

"In the year 1772, when Lord North was his Majesty's first minister, I stated in a letter to his Lordship some unquestionable proofs of the necessity of abolishing slavery in the colonies, and of putting a stop to the Slave Trade. Since that time, the much greater part of our colonial dominions have been severed from the British empire; but the most enormous of all our national iniquities, the Slave Trade, is still fostered by parliamentary authority, and slavery is still established in the small remains of our colonial possessions. As a proof of the extreme depravity which the Slave Trade introduces amongst those that become inured to it, I have enclosed the copy of a letter which I sent to the Lords of the Admiralty in the beginning of the present month, with an account of the murder of one hundred and thirty-two Negro slaves on board the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader. The original vouchers are now at the Admiralty, and I have not yet received any answer respecting them. The punishment of that

murder belongs properly to the Admiralty department, and therefore I do not apply to your Grace on that account; but only wish, by the horrible example related in the enclosed papers, to warn your Grace, that there is an absolute necessity to abolish the Slave Trade and the West-India slavery; and that 'to be in power, and to 'neglect, as life (and I may add, the tenure of office) is 'very uncertain, *even a day*, in endeavouring to put a 'stop to such *monstrous injustice and abandoned wicked-'ness*, must necessarily endanger a man's *eternal welfare*, 'be he ever so great in *temporal dignity* or office.' This was my warning to Lord North eleven years ago.

"With great respect, my Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient," &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from G. S. to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"My Lords, "Old Jewry, London, 2d July, 1783.

"As the cognisance and right of inquiry concerning all murders committed on board British ships, belongs properly to the Admiralty department, I think it my duty to lay before your Lordships two manuscript accounts, wherein are stated, from unquestionable authority, the circumstances of a most inhuman murder, committed by Luke Collingwood the master, James Kelsal the mate, and other persons the mariners or crew, of the ship Zong, or Zung, a Liverpool trader, freighted with slaves, &c., from the coast of Africa: which master, mate, and crew, on pretence of necessity (lest there should be a want of water), wilfully and deliberately destroyed one hundred and twenty-two Negro slaves, by casting them alive (as it is deposed) into the sea, with their hands bound or fettered, to deprive them of all possibility of escaping. Having been earnestly

solicited and called upon by a poor Negro for my assistance, to avenge the blood of his murdered countrymen, I thought it my duty to spare neither labour nor expense in collecting all the information concerning this horrible transaction that I could possibly procure, for the sake of national justice, that the blood of the murdered may not rest on the whole kingdom, which already labours under too awful a load of guilt in tolerating the iniquitous Slave-trade, whereby, amongst other evils, this most inhuman and diabolical deed was occasioned. One of the manuscripts (marked Voucher No. 1) is an authentic copy, from the office of the Court of Exchequer, of a bill or petition, presented to that Court, last Hilary Term, in behalf of the underwriters and insurers of the said ship Zong, or Zung, plaintiffs, against Messrs. William, John, and James Gregson, and others, merchants of Liverpool, and owners of the said ship and cargo, who obtained a verdict in the Court of King's Bench, on the 6th of March last, against the said underwriters, for the value of the murdered slaves, rated at 30*l.* per head, though alleged to be wilfully drowned by the agents and servants of the said owners: so that this most abominable iniquity has been notoriously favoured and encouraged in that solemn Court; but on what principle, is not easy to be conceived.

"The other manuscript book (marked Voucher No. 2) contains a copy of minutes taken in short hand the last term, on the 22d and 23d May, 1783, of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, on a motion for a new trial of the cause of the same parties mentioned above, concerning the *value* of those murdered Negroes! Thus the contest between the owners and insurers of the ship, though a mere mercenary business amongst themselves about the *pecuniary* value, and not for the *blood*, of so many human

persons wickedly and unjustly put to death, has, nevertheless, occasioned the disclosure of that horrible transaction, which otherwise, perhaps, might have been known only amongst the impious slave-dealers, and have never been brought to light.

"It will, however, be necessary for me to add to these vouchers a brief statement (which is enclosed*) of the principal circumstances of the case, because the two manuscripts are much too long for the perusal of your Lordships, except in the way of reference to particular parts, as to vouchers of the facts. As there is some variation in the two accounts respecting the number of persons murdered, it is necessary to remark, that it appears upon the whole evidence, that no less than *one hundred and thirty-three* of the unhappy slaves on board the Zong were inhumanly doomed to be cast into the sea—(Voucher No. 1, p. 2 and p. 3)—and that all the other numbers mentioned in the several accounts are to be included in that number—viz. the *one hundred and twenty-two* mentioned in the beginning of this letter, who were cast *alive*, as the owners and their witnesses assert, into the sea, with their hands fettered: also *ten* poor Negroes, who, being terrified with what they had seen of the unhappy fate of their countrymen, jumped overboard, in order to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were *drowned*; and *one* man more, that had been *cast overboard alive*, but escaped, it seems, by laying hold of a rope which hung from the ship into the water, and thereby, without being perceived, regained the ship, secreted himself, and was saved. It is necessary also to add to the enclosed statement, some remarks, in answer to the arguments and doctrines of a very eminent and learned lawyer, who, to the dishonour

* The narrative delivered to the Lords of the Admiralty will be found in the *Appendix*.

of his profession, attempted to vindicate the inhuman transaction*.

"The reality of the fact, according to the evidence produced, was testified upon oath in one of our highest courts of justice, and was notoriously admitted by both the contending parties. Mr. Robert Stubbs, late Governor of Annamaboo, &c., is a living witness to a part of the transaction, and is now in town. He told me himself, that he saw several of the poor creatures plunging in the sea that had been cast overboard, though he alleges that he did not see who cast them over; for he says, he was only a passenger in the ship, and had nothing to do in the transaction, but remained below at the time they were cast over. Also, the officers and crew of the ship William (Richard Hanley, late master), and the owners of the said ship, viz. Messrs. Gregson, Cave, Wilson, and Aspinal of Liverpool, merchants (mentioned in Voucher No. 1), can probably give sufficient information where the guilty crew of the Zong, whom they employed, are to be found, as also their names, &c. And Mr. ———, who defended the cause of the said owners, has attended their consultation, and was in possession of the evidence or deposition of James Kelsal, the chief mate of the Zong (Voucher No. 2, p. 44, cap. 29. orig.), will be able to confirm the notoriety of the fact; and so also will the attorneys employed in the cause on both sides the question,—viz. Messrs. Brograve and Lyon for the owners of the Zong, and Mr. Townley Ward for the insurers.

* I find the following note annexed to the original document at this place:—

"Memorandum. John Lee, Esq. a Yorkshire man, who spoke very broad in the provincial dialect of that county, which has seldom been so grossly profaned as by this lawyer."

N. B. His *name* was not inserted in the letter sent to the Admiralty.

"Informed of all these particulars, your Lordships will now be enabled to judge whether there is sufficient evidence for a criminal prosecution of the murderers—viz. the chief mate and the rest of the crew of the said ship Zong, or Zung—before the Grand Jury at the next Admiralty sessions. Luke Collingwood, the master, is reported to be dead, as also Richard Hanley, the master of the ship William above mentioned.

"With the greatest respect, my Lords," &c. &c.

Although the powerful manner, in which the account alluded to in the foregoing letter was drawn up by Mr. Sharp, gave fresh force to the natural interest of the cause, he nevertheless failed in his endeavours to bring a further punishment on the perpetrators of the horrid tragedy. But the failure of his attempt, and the insult offered, in the expressions of the pleader, to feelings which the sense of mercy and justice had inspired, were doomed by the great Fountain of Mercy to be fatal to the wicked interests of slavery.

The deduction, that was to be formed from the scene that had passed, was too obvious not to suggest itself even to the dullest observer. A high court of English judicature had heard one of the great organs of the law avow the case, in which he asserted, that "*so far from the guilt of any thing like a murderous act,*" in casting one hundred and thirty-three living and unoffending human creatures into the sea, to perish there; so far from "*any shew or suggestion of cruelty;*" there was not even a *surmise of*

impropriety in the transaction; and that, *to bring a charge of murder*, against those who had acted this part of uncontrouled power, into an English court of law, "*would argue nothing less than madness*" in him who brought it thither*. To what could this stigma on the juridical code of England be ascribed? Not, surely, to the natural feelings in the heart of the great lawyer who pronounced it: that would be to impute to him an obduracy, an insensibility to human emotions, too gross to have found its way to so elevated and honoured a situation. The reverse was evident. He declared, as his great professional learning instructed him, the *actual condition* of the law in England, relative to the question before him, and asserted that it authorised the statement he had made; namely, that there existed the case, in which there was no legal impropriety in deliberately casting our unoffending and defenceless fellow-creatures into the sea, fettered, or otherwise prevented from hopes of succour. Where was the "heart so hard, or the head so inaccessible," that did not instantly take part against such a state of things, in a country, of which the enlightened laws and impartial justice were acknowledged as the boasts of human wisdom, and the patterns of human freedom?

This view of the case was eagerly seized by the sagacity of Granville. Besides the letter to the

* The expressions printed in Italics, were also used on this occasion by the Solicitor-General, who was employed for the crown.

Lords of the Admiralty, he employed every means in his power to give the utmost publicity to the circumstances that had happened, and the arguments that had been employed. He sent an account of the whole transaction to the newspapers—he handed about a copy of the minutes (which he had procured in short-hand) of the trial, and of the speeches on both sides—he was also unwearied in diffusing his powerful and unanswerable remarks on the flagrant enormity of the case, which had been so strenuously vindicated; and perhaps the cause of African freedom may thus reckon among the most effective instruments of its support, the masterly and successful arguments of the Solicitor-General, in the barbarian triumph upheld, on that occasion, over reason and human feelings, as well as over the otherwise enlightened policy of England.

The following letters will evince the impression which Mr. Sharp's conduct had made on men of virtuous minds.

Dr. Hinchcliff, Bishop of Peterborough, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "Peterborough, August 21st, 1783.

"I return to you the enclosed narrative of one of the most inhuman barbarities that I ever read of. Were religion and humanity attended to, there can be no doubt that the horrid traffic would entirely cease; but they have too small a voice, to be heard among the clamours of avarice and ambition. Your benevolent endeavours to assist the wretched Africans, however unsuccessful in *their*

avour, cannot be so in *your own*. As a friend to mankind, permit me to thank you, and to assure you that I am, with the truest esteem and regard, dear Sir,

" Your faithful friend, &c.

" J. PETERBOROUGH."

Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " George Street, Thursday.

" I return you many thanks for the copy of the letter you was so obliging as to send me. Your observations are so just, and so full to the purpose, that I can add nothing to them but my entire approbation.

" The letter in the newspapers I had seen before; and I had heard the shocking fact alluded to in it, from a friend of mine, who happened to be present at the trial. Your generous zeal in behalf of the oppressed and injured Negroes is highly commendable; and I hope the attention of the public will be excited by your humane endeavours towards this important object. I expect soon, that a very excellent book on this subject will be published by a friend of mine in Kent, which I alluded to in my sermon, and shall take farther notice of it in a note.

" I am, Sir, your obliged, obedient Servant,

" B. CHESTER *."

* " Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester (but now Bishop of London), came forward as a new advocate for the natives of Africa. The way in which he rendered them service, was by preaching a sermon in their behalf before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Of the wide circulation of this sermon I shall speak in another place, and much more of the enlightened and pious author of it, who never failed to aid at every opportunity the cause which he had so ably undertaken."—*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

Mr. Sharp's personal activity in the relief of friendless slaves, continued for many years after the above trial. His memoranda notice an instance in a case of urgent danger, in 1786.

MS. '*Harry Demane, servant to —— Jeffries, Esq.*

'1786, July 28.—Was informed by John Stewart, 'and Green, that Harry was trepanned by his 'master, and carried away and sent on shipboard. 'Went to the Lord Mayor, and to several Aldermen 'at Guildhall, also to Bow Street, and Litchfield 'Street, and could not get a warrant; and, no judge 'being in town, I was disappointed of a writ of 'Habeas Corpus.

'29.—Sent Mr. Irwin to call at Mr. Mearn's, 'surgeon and apothecary in Bedford Street, where 'Mr. Jeffries lodged. Mr. Irwin took Mr. Fraser 'with him. They saw Mr. J., who was much frightened, and acknowledged the fact, and the name of 'the ship and the master.—Sent Mr. Irwin to Messrs. 'Douce and Bridgman, attorneys, who sent one 'clerk (Savage) with Irwin, Green, and Stewart, to 'Litchfield Street, to obtain a warrant; but were 'again refused, notwithstanding the additional evidence. The other clerk, Mr. Day, was sent to 'procure a Habeas Corpus, which he obtained of 'the Prothonotary's clerk, signed by the Court, and 'having the office seals affixed; and he brought it to 'me about nine o'clock.

'We then agreed that Mr. Savage should go to 'serve the writ, and should take with him Stewart, 'or Mr. Green, whichever was most readily found; 'and Mr. Irwin informed me by letter, on Sunday 'morning, 30th July, that he saw Savage and Green 'set off last night.

'Monday noon, July 31.—Mr. Savage and Green 'arrived in town, bringing with them Henry Demane. 'They informed me, that when they reached the 'ship, the anchor was getting up, the sails set, and 'the captain himself at the helm; so that a single 'minute more of delay would have lost the oppor-'tunity of recovery. *Henry confessed that he had* 'intended to have jumped into the sea as soon as it 'was dark; choosing rather to die than to be carried 'into slavery.—I sent him with proper officers to find 'out his master *.'

A letter also to his brother, Dr. J. Sharp, (preserved in his *Correspondence)* gives an account of the rescue of two other slaves, who had been captured at sea, and avariciously detained by the master of the vessel, during the progress of the Abolition

* Another and more summary minute of this affair has an additional item annexed:—

MS. 'August 1.—Instructed Mr. Bridgman to write to Mr. 'Jeffries.'

Bridgman, as appears above, was a solicitor, and several letters passed on the subject; but the result is not ascertained.

Society *. The final conclusion of these benevolent efforts is found in a later letter addressed to a gentleman of eminent piety and humanity †.

But after his personal interference had ceased, the influence of his name remained. The following

* The list of slaves rescued in England by Mr. Sharp, stands thus in his own memoranda:

MS. 'Jonathan Strong ..... saved from the Poultry compter, &c.
'Thomas Lewis ..... saved from a ship in the Downs.
'John Thomas ..... who went afterwards to China.
'Another John Thomas brought by a clergyman's widow.
'An Indian.
'James Somerset..... in whose case Lord Mansfield gave a just and decisive judgment.
'Two Negroes from 'the Havannah, demanded and saved from an English ship in the river Thames; one of whom was a free man of Antigua, who escaped with the other from a prison at the Havannah: both his feet were mortified with the cold on board the English ship, so that when G. S. sent him to St. Bartholomew's hospital, they were obliged to amputate both legs near to the knee.
'Another Negro, son 'of an eminent 'slave-dealer at 'Sierra Leone, and 'an acquaintance of 'young Naimbanna, '(the King's son)... saved from on board a ship in the Downs, with nearly the same extraordinary circumstances as in the case of T. Lewis.
'John Cambridge ..... defended against Capt. Holman.'

† *Correspondence.*

anecdote is given on the authority of an amiable man, whose death is a loss to professional science *.

A native of Otaheite had been enticed, by the offer of presents, from the shore of his island on board an English vessel, kidnapped, and brought to England. Being an expert swimmer and diver, his skill had been very profitably employed during the voyage, in the capture of seals, of which he had succeeded in killing a great number. On arriving in England, the master of the vessel refused to give him any pay for his services; and he applied, through another Otaheitean, to a friend (Mr. F.) for assistance. Mr. F. went to the house of the merchants who owned the vessel, and pleaded the poor Islander's cause. He was abruptly refused, and was told that "they would spend 500*l.* in repelling any application of the kind, rather than pay the Otaheitean a farthing." Mr. F., in this dilemma, wrote to Mr. Granville Sharp, who the next day called on him, and directed him what course to pursue, requesting, if any subscription became necessary, that his name might be set down at the head of the list for two guineas.

The subscription, however, was not wanted. It was no sooner known to the merchants in question that Mr. Sharp's sanction was obtained for proceeding against them, than they proposed an arbitration;

* Mr. Joseph Fox.

which being agreed to, the Otaheitean was, by their own arbitrator, adjudged the pay which had been solicited, and which was that of an ordinary seaman, for the time of the voyage, amounting altogether to about 30*l.*

Of such value was the *nominis umbra.*

CHAP. IX.

We may now return to the narrative of Mr. Sharp's attention to the public establishments in America.

Besides the valuable presents of books to the American libraries, he extended his view to various regulations, which he conceived might be most useful to an advancing state, and he communicated them to the leading statesmen of that continent. Among them, the antient system of Frank-pledge holds a considerable place. It was this system which he had, on several different occasions, suggested to men in high situations in his own country, as the rule of political constitution; and he had constantly proposed its adoption, as the only sound method of civil reform. He found arguments for its support in reason, in law, and in the sacred Scriptures *. A few extracts from letters which passed between him and some of the most eminent Americans at this time, will continue the view of his opinions, and the estimation in which they were held.

Dr. Franklin, to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" Dear Sir, " Passy, July 5, 1785.

" I received the books you were so kind as to send:

* *Correspondence.*

please to accept my hearty thanks. Your writings, which always have some public good for their object, I always read with pleasure. I am perfectly of your opinion with respect to the salutary law of gavelkind, and hope it may in time be established throughout America. In six of the States already, the lands of intestates are divided equally among the children, if all girls; but there is a double share given to the eldest son, for which I see no more reason than in giving such share to the eldest daughter; and think there should be no distinction. Since my being last in France, I have seen several of our eldest sons spending idly their fortunes, by residing in Europe and neglecting their own country: these are from the southern states. The northern young men stay at home, and are industrious useful citizens; the more equal division of their father's fortunes not enabling them to ramble and spend their shares abroad; which is so much the better for their country.

"I am departing for America, where I shall be glad occasionally to hear from you and of your welfare, being, with sincere and great esteem," &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

His Excellency John Adams, to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Sir, "Grosvenor Square, March 8, 1786.

"You have merited the respect and esteem of all men, among whom liberty and humanity are not disregarded, by your writings. The idea, that captives in war are slaves, is the foundation of the misfortunes of the Negroes. This principle is honoured and admitted by all the powers of Europe, who pay tributes to the states of Barbary.

"I expect that one part of Africa will avenge upon my fellow-citizens, the injury they do to another, by purchasing their captives. Yet, I presume, we shall be com-

pelled to follow the base example of submission, and pay tributes, or make presents, like the rest of Christians to the Mussulmen.

"I wish you would take up the whole of this African system, and expose it altogether. Never, never will the Slave Trade be abolished, while Christian princes abase themselves before the piratical ensigns of Mahomet.

"With great esteem, &c.

"JOHN ADAMS."

Dr. Franklin, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Philadelphia, June 9, 1787.

"The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, have taken the liberty to request your acceptance of a few copies of their constitution, and the laws of Pennsylvania which relate to one of the objects of their institution.

"From a most grateful sense of the zeal and abilities with which you have long and successfully defended the claims of the oppressed Africans, the Society have done themselves the honour of enrolling your name in the number of their corresponding members, and they earnestly request the continuance of your labours in the great object of their institution,—for in this business, the friends to humanity in every country are of one nation and religion.

"I am, in behalf of the Society, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

His Excellency John Jay, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "New York, 1st September, 1788.

"The Society established in this city for promoting the manumission of Slaves, &c., did, at their last meeting, admit you an honorary member of it; and I have now the

pleasure of transmitting to you, herewith enclosed, a certified extract from their minutes on the subject. Be pleased, Sir, to consider this as a mark of the esteem and respect with which your exertions in the cause of humanity have inspired them; and permit me to assure you, that, with similar sentiments, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"JOHN JAY, *President.*"

Of Mr. Sharp's replies to these letters, it is only requisite to notice particularly that addressed to Dr. Franklin, the manly tenor of which exhibits another striking view of the simplicity and firmness of the writer's mind. It was written shortly after the time when the code of the *Federal Constitution* was first published in America. The code contained two clauses; by the former of which, Art. i. sect. 9., the importation of slaves into the United States was not to be prohibited till the year 1808 (an interval of twenty-one years!), a tax only being laid on them till that time; and by the latter, Art. iii. sect. 2, it was ordered, that slaves running away from their masters were to be given up again to them*.

To his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., President of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

"Leadenhall Street, London,
10th January, 1788.

"Dear Sir,

"I ought long ago to have acknowledged the deep sense which I entertain of my obligation to the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for

* Federal Constitution, 1787, signed Washington.

the honour they have been pleased to confer upon me by enrolling my name in the number of their corresponding members, as signified in your Excellency's letter of the 9th June last.

" I read, with very particular satisfaction, their excellent remonstrance against slavery, addressed to the late Convention.

" When such solemn and unanswerable appeals to the consciences of men, in behalf of humanity and common justice, are disregarded, the crimes of *slave-dealing* and *slave-holding* become *crying sins*, which presumptuously invite the Divine retribution! So that it must be highly dangerous to the political existence of any state, thus duly warned against injustice, to afford the least sanction to such enormities by their legislative authority.

" Having been always zealous for the honour of free governments, I am the more sincerely grieved to see the new Federal Constitution stained by the insertion of two most exceptionable clauses of the kind above mentioned; the one, in direct opposition to a most humane article, ordained by the first American Congress to be perpetually observed; and the other, in equal opposition to an express command of the Almighty, ' not to deliver up the servant ' that has escaped from his master,' &c. Both clauses, however (the 9th section of the 1st article, and the latter part of the 2d section of the 3d article), are so clearly null and void by their iniquity, that it would be even a *crime* to regard them as law.

" Though I have, indeed, too plainly proved myself a very unworthy and dilatory correspondent, through the unavoidable impediments of a variety of affairs and trusts which have been devolved upon me, yet I must request your Excellency to inform the Pennsylvania Society, that I have never knowingly omitted any favourable opportu-

nity of promoting the great object of their institution, and (I trust in God) I never shall.

"With true esteem and respect, dear Sir, &c. &c.

"G. S*."

In further return for Mr. Sharp's acts of benevolence, America publicly declared her respect for his character, by conferring on him the only distinction which she had thought fit to establish for personal merit. In September 1786, the College of Providence, in Rhode Island, at the public commencement, had admitted him to the degree of *Doctor of Laws*. The example was followed by the University of Cambridge, in the province of Massachusetts; and by that of Williamsburg, in Virginia; and these honours were announced to him by the presidents of the colleges, in expressions of the highest personal esteem †.

Of the answers to their letters also, a single instance will suffice.

To Dr. Willard, President of the University of Cambridge, in the Province of Massachusetts.

"Reverend Sir, "February 25, 1791.

"I had the pleasure of receiving your obliging letter of the 9th November last, together with the diploma for the degree of Doctor of Laws; and am very glad to find, by your subsequent letter, that you had received mine,

* Another letter of the same date, addressed to Dr. Franklin, repeats his arguments in favour of frank-pledge.

† *Correspondence.*

wherein I had already requested you to present my most grateful acknowledgments to the members of the University of Cambridge, for the honour they have been pleased to confer on me. Having, since, read the favourable sentiments declared in the diploma, by the authority of a body of gentlemen so highly respectable as the corporation and overseers of that university, I can add, that my poor endeavours in the cause of liberty and national right will now have the additional excitement of a very hearty desire to retain their good opinion; relying on the prevention of Divine Providence, that I shall never give occasion to be deemed an unworthy member of their Society.

"I received, by favour of Dr. Windship, the catalogue of your library, and the other books sent therewith, for which I sincerely thank you.

"With great respect and esteem,

"Reverend Sir, &c. &c.

"G. S."

To the testimonies of his philanthropy one more is to be added. Of what the gift mentioned in the following letter consisted, is uncertain, as no record of it appears among the Manuscript papers. An account of the church to which it was sent, is found in his Correspondence *.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Philadelphia, November 25, 1793.

"Worthy and Respected Sir,

"We want words to express our gratitude to you for all your labours of love to our afflicted nation. You were

* In a letter from Dr. Benjamin Rush, an extract from which he printed.

our advocate when we had but few friends on the other side of the water. We request you to accept of our thanks for all your kind and benevolent exertions in behalf of the people of our colour, and in particular for your late *humane donation to our church*.

" Our prayers shall not cease to ascend to the Father of mercies and God of all grace for your health and happiness in this world, and for your eternal happiness in the world to come.

" We are, worthy and respected Sir,

" Your Friends and obedient humble Servants,

" ABSALOM JONES,
WILLIAM GREY,
WILLIAM GARDNERS, } *Acting Officers of the African Church of Philadelphia.*"

END OF VOL. I.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES *to* VOL. I.

Page 46.

———"*appointment in the Ordnance Office.*"

GRANVILLE SHARP appointed Supernumerary Clerk in the Office of the Honourable the Clerk of the Ordnance, Wm. Rawlinson Earle, Esq., 8th June 1758;—

Clerk in Ordinary, from the 1st of April, 1764. Resigned, the 1st of April 1777.

Charles, Duke of Marlborough, was Master-General of the Ordnance, when Mr. Sharp was appointed; and the Marquess of Granby, when he resigned.

Register of the Ordnance Office.

Page 60.

———"*compromise, which Mr. S. rejected.*"

"Mr. Macbean (D. Lisle's attorney) has this day acquainted Mr. Colston, that he is willing to drop the present suit, and to try the matter with us upon the general question, '*Whether Negroes, or others, can be Slaves in England.*' But whatever he does, we are determined to take such steps as shall be thought most adviseable for the public good; and therefore G. S. will take the liberty of waiting on Dr. Blackstone, as soon as possible, to consult him."

Note to Dr. Blackstone (*date wanting*).

Page 60 (note).
(*Letter to Dr. Blackstone.*)

Another copy of the letter to Dr. Blackstone has the following addition:—

"I have been lately informed, by a West-India Merchant, that they really intend to bring on the trial next term; and I have had some private hints that there is a design on foot of seizing the Negro. Macbean's clerk told Mr. Colston's clerk, that he made out a Bill of Sale very lately for one John Strong, the same name as in the former Bill.

"Justice Welch advised that the boy should bind himself apprentice to Mr. Mist, with whom he lives, &c.

"However, no steps shall be taken in the affair (unless the boy is really kidnapped) until my Attorney receives directions from the Solicitor General and yourself, and Mr. Recorder in consultation. "I am, Sir," &c. "G. S."

Page 63.
———"*authority of the same Act of Parliament.*"

"And by the Habeas Corpus Act, 31 Car. II. (that second *Magna Carta*, and stable bulwark of our liberties), it is enacted, That no subject of this realm, who is an inhabitant of England, Wales, or Berwick, shall be sent prisoner into Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or places beyond the seas (where they cannot have the benefit and protection of the common law), but that all such imprisonment shall be illegal; That the person who shall dare to commit another contrary to this law, shall be disabled from bearing any office, shall incur the penalty of a premunire, and be incapable of receiving the King's pardon; and the party suffering shall also have his *private action* against the person committing, and all his aiders, advisers, and abettors; and shall recover treble costs, besides his damages, which no Jury shall assess at less than five hundred pounds."

Blackstone's Commentaries, Book I. pp. 133, 134.

Page 102 (*after the Duke of Portland's letter*).

In a copy (in the possession of Wm. Tooke, Esq.) of the book entitled "The Doctrine of *Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi* Explained," is the following annexed MS. note.—

"This little tract was sent by G. S. in MS. to the late Duke of Portland, when his Grace's estate in Cumberland had been granted by the Treasury to Sir James Lowther.

"G. S. was afterwards acquainted, by a very worthy Gentleman (brother to Admiral Lutwidge) who was present at the trial in Cumberland, that Mr. Wallace, the Duke's counsel, proceeded regularly according to the argument in this book; by which the proposed plan of seizing the estate, on pretence of the false doctrines about '*Nullum Tempus*,' was completely defeated."

The above remark, whether Mr. Wallace's pleadings were derived from the tract here mentioned, or merely coincided with the opinions contained in it, equally demonstrates the correctness of Mr. Sharp's view of the laws relating to the subject.

Page 138.

———"*he becomes free.*"

"We have no slaves at home. Then why abroad?
And they themselves, once ferried o'er the wave
That parts us, are emancipate and loos'd.
Slaves cannot breathe in England: if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free:
They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing.—Spread it then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all your empire, that where Britain's pow'r
Is felt, *mankind may feel her mercy too!*"

Cowper's Task.

Page 138 (note).

——"*last edition of his Commentaries.*"

A letter referred to, in the former edition, as being to be found in the Appendix, was there omitted, by reason of its general contents having been inserted in this note. I now extract from it the remark of Mr. Christian, in his edition of the Commentaries, alluded to here:

"I do not see how the 'master's right to the service can *possibly continue*.' It can only arise from a contract, which the Negro, in a state of slavery, is incapable of entering into with his master."

Page 209, l. 10.

The Author, in reply to whom the "Remarks on several important Prophecies" were written, was the Rev. Dr. John Williams, a Dissenting Minister at Sydenham in Kent. He published, in 1767, a "Critical Dissertation on Isaiah vii. 13—16," in which the sentiments advanced by Dr. Kennicott, in a sermon lately published, and by several other writers, are candidly and impartially examined. The name of the author not being prefixed was probably the reason of Mr. Sharp's marking only an abbreviation of it.

Dr. Williams's "Free Inquiry into the Authenticity of the first and second Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel" was published in 1771.

[For the above information I am indebted to the very valuable Librarian of the Royal Institution, Mr. Wm. Harris, from whom I have never failed to derive assistance in every inquiry that I have had occasion to make.]

Page 228 (*Colliers and Salters*).

The following brief mention of the circumstances regarding the Colliers, is extracted from a letter addressed to the Editor of these Memoirs by one of Mr. Sharp's oldest friends:

" East Tisted, near Alton,
" Sir, 2d June, 1818.

" I am sorry I cannot now recollect distinctly the particulars of what the late Mr. Sharp informed me respecting the state of the collieries in Scotland.

" I think the case was, that the labourers in each of those collieries were in such a state of vassalage, as to be so tied to the owner of it, that they could not quit it and go to another master; nor could they take to any other work for their maintenance. And I also think, that all the sons of a collier were compelled to become colliers, and continue with the owner of the pit. As Mr. G. Sharp never seemed to engage in any benevolent undertaking to gain the applause of men, he declined taking any public notice to expose and alter the system of vassalage then existing, upon the owners of the collieries' engaging to bring about, themselves, an alteration, to allow their labourers a power of being gradually freed from that bondage in which they were held by that old custom.

" A great alteration has taken place since," &c. &c.

Page 345.

——" *the Episcopal order duly established in America.*"

The progress of the Episcopal Establishment in America is shewn by the following passage, in an Appeal in behalf of the Diocese of Ohio, lately circulated in England.—

" The Episcopal Church of the United States of America derives its origin from this country. Ten dioceses have been formed; nine of which are in the Atlantic States east of the Alleghany mountains. Portions of two of these dioceses, those of Philadelphia and Virginia, reach across those mountains, as they are co-extensive with the respective States of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The diocese of Ohio is the only diocese yet formed beyond those mountains, in the western territory of the States."

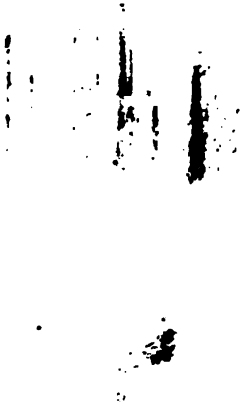
Appeal in Behalf of the Diocese of Ohio, 1824.

Page 373 (*at the end of the page*).

From the same authority (Mr. J. Fox) I received the following anecdote.

"The name of the first English captain of a slave-vessel, who treated the Negroes with any degree of mercy, was *Fuller*. He was commended for '*not tossing them overboard, nor tormenting them, as was the practice.*'"

The date of this circumstance is wanting.

END OF VOL. I.

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